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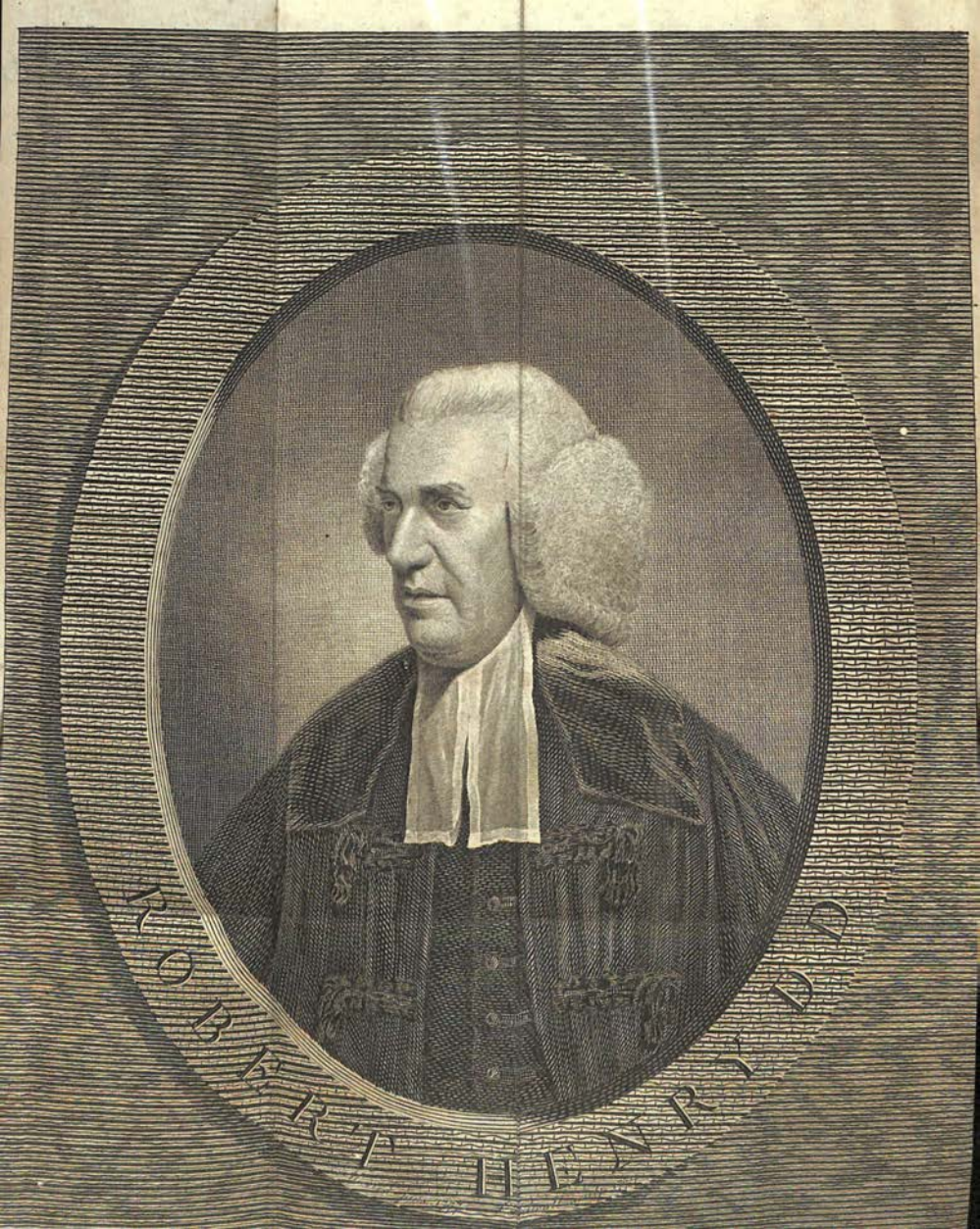
ROBERT HARRIDD

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. I.

Strahan and Preſton,
Printers-Street.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

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VOLUME THE FIRST.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM Earl of *Mansfield*,

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

IF the merits of this Work were as conſpicuous as the dignity and virtues of its illuſtrious Patrons, it would be well entitled to the attention and favour of the Public. I had the honour to dedicate the firſt impreſſion of it to our Moſt Gracious Sovereign, the generous munificent promoter of every laudable undertaking. I have now the honour to dedicate this im-

preſſion of it to your Lordſhip, whoſe extraordinary talents, ſurpriſing penetration, perſuaſive eloquence, conſummate wiſdom, and inflexible integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice, have long been the objects of univerſal admiration. I acknowledge that I am not unwilling to let the world and poſterity know (if any thing of mine ſhall reach poſterity) that I had the happineſs to be encouraged in the proſecution of this Work by one of the moſt virtuous Monarchs that ever adorned a throne, and by one of the wiſeſt, beſt, and greateſt men of the age in which I lived. While I continue to enjoy that encouragement, and the increaſing favour of the Public, I ſhall proceed in the execution of my plan with all the attention and fidelity of which I am capable, and

all

all the expedition the ſtate of my health and the duties of my ſtation will permit.

That the Almighty Ruler of the World may prolong your Lordſhip's valuable life to a very lengthened period, and after a long, happy, and honourable life, exalt you to a ſtate of pure and ſublime felicity that ſhall never end, is the ſincere and fervent prayer of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt humble and

Moſt obedient Servant,

ROBERT HENRY.

THE

GENERAL PREFACE.

THIS Hiſtory of Great Britain is written on a plan ſo different from that of any former hiſtory of this iſland, or indeed of any other country, that it is neceſſary to lay before the reader—A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE CHIEF DESIGN AND OBJECT OF THIS WORK:—A DELINEATION OF THE PLAN ON WHICH IT IS WRITTEN:—And, A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROBABLE AND EXPECTED ADVANTAGES OF THAT PLAN. Neceſſity and ſubject of the preface.

The chief deſign then of this work is this:—To give the reader a conciſe account of the moſt important events which have happened in Great Britain, from the firſt invaſion of it by the Romans, under Julius Cæſar, to the preſent times; together with a diſtinct view of the religion, laws, learning, arts, commerce, and manners of its inhabitants, in every age between theſe two periods. It is intended to draw Chief deſign and object of the work.

draw a faithful picture of the characters and circumſtances of our anceſtors from age to age, both in public and in private life; to deſcribe, in their genuine colours, the great actions they performed, and the diſgraces they ſuſtained; the liberties they enjoyed, and the thraldom to which they were ſubjected; the knowledge, natural, moral, and religious, with which they were illuminated, and the darkneſs in which they were involved; the arts they practiſed, and the commerce they carried on; the virtues with which they were adorned, and the vices with which they were infected; the pleaſures and amuſements in which they delighted, and the diſtreſſes and miſeries to which they were expoſed; not omitting even their fleeting faſhions, and ever-changing cuſtoms and modes of life, when they can be diſcovered. This, it is hoped, will give the reader as clear, full and juſt ideas of Great Britain, and of its inhabitants, in every age, as can reaſonably be deſired, or, at leaſt, as can now be obtained from the faithful records of hiſtory.

To accompliſh this very extenſive deſign within as narrow limits as poſſible, the author hath endeavoured to expreſs every thing in the

the feweſt and plaineſt words; to avoid all digreſſions and repetitions; and to arrange his materials in the moſt regular order, according to the following plan:

Plan of the work.

The whole work is divided into ten books. Each book begins and ends at ſome remarkable revolution, and contains the hiſtory and delineation of the firſt of theſe revolutions, and of the intervening period. Every one of theſe ten books is uniformly divided into ſeven chapters, which do not carry on the thread of the hiſtory one after another, as in other works of this kind; but all the ſeven chapters of the ſame book begin at the ſame point of time, run parallel to one another, and end together; each chapter preſenting the reader with the hiſtory of one particular object. For example:

The firſt chapter of each book contains the civil and military hiſtory of Great Britain, in the period which is the ſubject of that book. The ſecond chapter of the ſame book contains the hiſtory of religion, or the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Britain, in the ſame period. The third chapter contains the hiſtory of our conſtitution, government, laws, and courts of juſtice. The fourth chapter comprehends the hiſtory of learning, of learned men, and of

of the chief ſeminaries of learning. The fifth chapter contains the hiſtory of the arts, both uſeful and ornamental, neceſſary and pleaſing. The ſixth chapter is employed in giving the hiſtory of commerce, of ſhipping, of money or coin, and of the prices of commodities. The ſeventh and laſt chapter of the ſame book contains the hiſtory of the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable cuſtoms, language, dreſs, diet, and diverſions of the people of Great Britain, in the ſame period. This plan is regularly and ſtrictly purſued from the beginning to the end of this work: ſo that each of the ten books of which it conſiſts, may be conſidered as a complete work, in itſelf, as far as it reaches; and alſo as a perfect pattern and model of all the other books.

To render this plan ſtill more perfectly regular and uniform in all its parts, the author hath diſpoſed the materials of all the chapters of the ſame number, in all the ten books, in the ſame order, as far as the ſubjects treated of in theſe chapters would permit. For example: The arts, which are the ſubject of the fifth chapter of every book, are diſpoſed one after another in the ſame order of ſucceſſion, in all the fifth chapters through the whole work.

work. The ſame may be ſaid of all the other chapters, whoſe ſubjects are capable of being diſpoſed in a regular order and arrangement. By this means, as every book is a perfect model of all the other books of this work, ſo every chapter is alſo a perfect model of all the other chapters of the ſame number. It is thought unneceſſary to attempt to carry order and regularity of method further than this. It is even imagined, that any endeavour to do this would defeat its own deſign, by rendering the plan too intricate and artificial.

Such is the plan upon which the following work is written. That it is new will not be diſputed. The advantages of it (if the author is not miſtaken) are ſo many and obvious, that they might be ſafely truſted to the diſcovery of every intelligent reader. It may not however be improper to ſubjoin a few ſhort obſervations on the probable and expected advantages of this plan. For, though theſe obſervations may appear ſuperfluous to many, they may be uſeful to ſome. Advantages of this plan.

By this plan the ſphere of hiſtory will be very much enlarged, and many uſeful and entertaining ſubjects introduced into it, which 1ſt advantage.

were

were formerly excluded. The far greateſt number of our hiſtorians have given us only a detail of our civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical affairs: a few of them have inſerted occaſional diſſertations on our conſtitution, government, and laws: but not one of them hath given, or ſo much as pretended or deſigned to give, any thing like a hiſtory of learning, arts, commerce, and manners. All that we find in the very beſt of our hiſtorians, on theſe intereſting ſubjects, are a few curſory remarks, which ſerve rather to excite than gratify our curioſity. Are theſe ſubjects then unworthy of a place in hiſtory; eſpecially in the hiſtory of a country where learning, arts, commerce, and politeneſs flouriſh? Doth not the ingenious ſcholar, who hath enlarged and enlightened the faculties of the human mind; the inventive artiſt, who hath encreaſed the comforts and conveniencies of human life; the adventurous merchant or mariner, who hath diſcovered unknown countries, and opened new ſources of trade and wealth; deſerve a place in the annals of his country, and in the grateful remembrance of poſterity; as well as even the good prince, the wiſe politician, or the victorious general? Can we form juſt ideas

of

of the characters and circumſtances of our anceſtors, by viewing them only in the flames of civil and religious diſcord, or in the fields of blood and ſlaughter; without ever attending to their conduct and condition, in the more permanent and peaceful ſcenes of ſocial life? Are we now in poſſeſſion of prodigious ſtores of natural, moral, and religious knowledge; of a vaſt variety of elegant and uſeful arts; of an almoſt unbounded trade, which pours the productions of every climate at our feet; to all which our forefathers were once ſtrangers? and have we no curioſity to know, at what time, by what degrees, and by whoſe means, we have been enriched with theſe treaſures of learning, arts, and commerce? It is impoſſible. Such curioſity is natural, laudable, and uſeful; and it is hoped, that this attempt to gratify it by comprehending theſe important objects within the bounds of hiſtory, will be received by the Public with ſome degree of favour.

Its advantage.

As by this plan the ſphere of hiſtory is very much enlarged, ſo its order and regularity are not only preſerved, but even very much improved; and, by this means, the reader is preſented with variety without confuſion, which is of all things the moſt agree-

able. Writers of the greateſt genius find it no eaſy taſk to form civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical affairs, into one eaſy, clear, and unperplexed narration. It is ſometimes almoſt indiſpenſably neceſſary to break off the thread of one ſtory, before it is brought to a proper period, in order to introduce and bring forward another, of a very different kind. This unavoidably occaſions ſome confuſion. The reader's attention is diverted, the gratification of his curioſity is diſagreeably ſuſpended, and it is ſometimes ſo long before he is brought back to his former track, that it is hardly poſſible for him to recollect the ſcattered members of the ſame narration, and to form diſtinct conceptions of the whole. Examples of ſome degree of perplexity, proceeding from this cauſe, might be produced (if it were not unneceſſary and invidious) from the works of our moſt juſtly admired hiſtorians: and the compilations of many others are, on this account, little better than a heap of undigeſted materials. For this reaſon, it would have been equally abſurd and vain, to have attempted to form all the various ſubjects which compoſe the following work, into one continued narration. This could have produced nothing but a perfect chaos

chaos of confuſion. But by the preſent plan, all this danger of intricacy and confuſion is avoided. The materials belonging to one ſubject, are divided, without violence or injury, from thoſe belonging to another; and each of them are formed into a ſeparate narration, which is conducted, from beginning to end, without interruption, or the intervention of any foreign matter. By this means, every thing appears diſtinct and clear; and the reader purſues one ſubject to an end, before he enters upon another.

3d advantage.

It will probably appear to many readers no ſmall advantage, that by this plan they will have an opportunity of indulging their peculiar taſtes, and of ſtudying, with the greateſt attention, thoſe particular ſubjects in the hiſtory of their country, which ſeem to them moſt uſeful and agreeable in themſelves, or moſt ſuitable to their reſpective ways of life, without being obliged to travel through long and tedious details of other things, for which they have little reliſh. The ſoldier, for example, and thoſe who take delight in reading of battles, ſieges, and military operations, will find every thing of that nature in the ſeveral firſt chapters, and in the

ſection on the art of war in the fifth chapters. The clergy and others, who deſire to be particularly informed of the religious ſentiments and practices of the people of this country in every age; and to know the various changes and revolutions which have happened in the churches of Britain, from the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity, to the preſent times; will obtain all the ſatisfaction which this work can give them on theſe heads, by peruſing the ſecond chapters. The politician, the lawyer, the gentleman, and all others, who wiſh to be acquainted with the many changes which have been made in the conſtitution, government, and laws of their country, in that long ſucceſſion of ages which have elapſed ſince the firſt invaſion of the Romans, will have recourſe to the third chapters, for the gratification of their curioſity on theſe ſubjects. The ſeveral fourth chapters will afford the moſt agreeable and uſeful entertainment to the ſcholar; the fifth to the artiſt; and the ſixth to the merchant. The ſubjects which are treated of in the ſeveral ſeventh chapters are ſo many and various, and have been ſo little attended to in hiſtory, that it is hoped theſe

chapters

chapters will be univerſally agreeable, and that readers of every claſs will find ſomething in them ſuited to their taſte.

4th advantage.

It is not perhaps one of the leaſt advantages of this plan, that it obliges the writer to give a conſtant anxious attention to every part of his ſubject, in every period, without omiſſion or relaxation. When a few incidental obſervations only are to be made on ſome ſubjects, ſuch as laws, learning, arts, commerce, and manners, as it were by the bye, no very great or conſtant attention to theſe ſubjects is required in the writer. The conſideration of them may be dropt and reſumed by him at pleaſure, without his incurring any blame, or diſappointing the expectation of his reader. But when a writer, by the very plan of his work, obliges himſelf to give a diſtinct continued narration on every one of theſe ſubjects, in every period, in its proper place and order; more diligence in collecting, and more care in arranging his materials, on all theſe ſubjects, becomes indiſpenſably neceſſary. In this caſe, if but any one particular ſubject, under any one general head (as that of agriculture, for example, in the hiſtory of arts), is omitted, or even ſuperficially treated, in any one

period, it is a direct violation of the eſtabliſhed plan, a manifeſt defect and imperfection, which can hardly eſcape the obſervation of any attentive reader. For the more perfectly regular any plan is, the more exact and conſtant attention is required in the execution of it, and the more eaſily are its defects diſcovered.

But enough, perhaps too much, hath been already ſaid of the probable and expected advantages of the plan of the intended work. This is a topic on which it doth not very well become an author to dilate. For ſince it is the undoubted prerogative of the reader to judge for himſelf, with freedom and candour both of the plan and execution; it would be paying but an ill compliment to his penetration, and even to the work itſelf, to ſuppoſe that it was neceſſary to give a long minute detail of its advantages.

Caution. Nothing can be more inconſiſtent with that perfect integrity, and ſacred regard to truth, which are ſo eſſential to the character of a good hiſtorian, than to attempt to raiſe expectations in the Public, which an author is not able, or doth not deſign, to gratify. To prevent all ſuſpicions of any thing of that kind, on the preſent occaſion, it is proper to acquaint

acquaint the reader, that he is not to expect a thorough minute inveſtigation of all the various ſubjects which are introduced into the following work. To have attempted this, would have ſwelled this hiſtory into a library; and would have rendered many parts of it equally tedious and unintelligible to the bulk of readers. In the ſeveral fourth chapters, for example, which contain the hiſtory of learning, it was never intended to give regular extended ſyſtems of the grammar, logic, ethics, mathematics, and other ſciences, of every age. In ſome ages this would have been impoſſible; in all it would have been improper. It is only deſigned to lay before the reader a clear and conciſe account of the general ſtate of each ſcience; its decline or progreſs; its moſt remarkable defects, and moſt important improvements. This is all that falls within the province of general hiſtory, on ſubjects of this nature; all that can be univerſally uſeful and agreeable, or reaſonably deſired and expected in a work of this kind.

A modern author, who writes the hiſtory of ancient times, can have no perſonal knowledge of the events of which he writes; and conſequently he can have no title to the credit Authorities.

and confidence of the Public, merely on his own authority. If he does not write romance inſtead of hiſtory, he muſt have received his information from tradition—from authentic monuments—original records—or the memoirs of more ancient writers; and therefore it is but juſt to acquaint his readers from whence he actually received it. This is acting a fair and honeſt part, and puts it in the power of his readers to determine whether he hath repreſented matters with judgment and integrity, according to his information; and what degree of credit is due to his authorities. A writer who neglects to do this, may perhaps be an honeſt man and a ſincere hiſtorian; but it is certainly very difficult to diſcover whether he is ſo or not; and this very neglect is no ſmall temptation to write ſometimes in a careleſs manner; or, on ſome occaſions, to ſacrifice truth to embelliſhment, and to add circumſtances for which there is no foundation, in order to make his ſtory appear more agreeable or more ſurpriſing. The truth is, the works of an hiſtorian who hath not quoted his authorities, and pointed out the ſources from whence he hath derived his information (unleſs he hath been an original writer, and nearly cotemporary with the

facts

facts which he relates), are of little or no uſe to any ſubſequent writer, and can give but little ſatisfaction to any inquiſitive reader. For theſe reaſons, the authorities are carefully quoted in the following work, at the bottom of the page. When any well known and undiſputed fact is mentioned by many ancient writers, it would have had the appearance of parade and oſtentation to have quoted them all; and therefore to point out one or two of them is thought ſufficient.

Inſtead of long notes at the bottom of the page, which are apt to diſtract the attention of the reader, an Appendix is ſubjoined to each book of the following work. Theſe appendixes contain a great variety of materials of different kinds—as, ſcarce and curious tracts—valuable remains of antiquity—originals letters and records—ſhort diſſertations on important points, &c. &c. In a word, whatever may ſerve to gratify the reader's curioſity, to remove his doubts, and give him either pleaſure or inſtruction; which could not be introduced into the body of each book, with propriety and advantage, is inſerted in the Appendix, with proper references. Appendix.

It

Maps. It is hardly poſſible to form clear conceptions of many events recorded in hiſtory, particularly of many military operations, without ſome knowledge of the face of the country, and of the ſituation of the places which have been the ſcenes of theſe events.

The want of this is one great cauſe that ſo many read hiſtory with ſo little ſatisfaction and improvement. This knowledge is moſt eaſily obtained by the inſpection of correct maps, which are certainly the beſt illuſtrations, and the moſt uſeful ornaments, of hiſtory. But even the moſt accurate and ſplendid maps of ſuch a country as Britain, in its preſent ſtate, would contribute very little to the illuſtration of its ancient hiſtory. For not only the inhabitants, but the very names, appearances, and other circumſtances of our country, and of its various diſtricts, have ſuffered many ſucceſſive changes in a long courſe of ages. To ſay nothing of the uncertain conjecture of ſeveral writers—*that this iſland was once united to the continent*[1]; in how many different ways and proportions hath Great Britain been divided at different

[1] Antonius Volſcius, Dominicus Marius Niger, Servius Honoratus, Jo. Twine, Guil. Muſgrave, &c.

times?

times? How often have the ſame places changed their own names, and the names of their rulers, owners, and inhabitants? How many cities, towns, and fortreſſes have flouriſhed in one age, the ſubject of much ambitious contention; and, in another, have ſunk into duſt and rubbiſh: while others, formerly unheard of, have ariſen to ſplendour and importance? Have not extenſive regions, which in one period had been covered with impenetrable foreſts, been cleared and peopled in another, and become the ſcenes of many important events? To give the reader therefore as diſtinct a view as poſſible of theſe ſucceſſive changes in the ſcene of action, the firſt and ſecond books of the following work will be illuſtrated with maps, repreſenting the face of our country, not as it now is, but as it then was, in theſe ſeveral periods. Theſe maps are inſerted in the Appendix to each book, and accompanied with proper explanations.

Thus much it is thought neceſſary to inform the reader, concerning the plan and ſtructure of the following work. The Public are the only proper judges of the Execution, and to them that province is left entire.

CON-

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans, under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. *to the arrival of the Saxons,* A. D. 449.

THE large and beautiful Island of Great Britain had been inhabited many ages; and had no doubt been the scene of many wars, revolutions, and other important events, before it was invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæsar[1]. But almost all these events are either buried in profound oblivion; or the accounts which we have of them are so imperfect, improbable, and full of fables, that it is impossible to form them into a continued, un-

A. A. C. 55.

Ancient history of Britain fabulous.

[1] See the third chapter of this book; the first part of which, containing a description of the ancient British nations, will throw much light on the civil and military history of this period.

A. A. C. 55.

broken narration, ſupported by proper evidence[2]. Leaving therefore thoſe dark and fabulous ages of the Britiſh hiſtory, which preceded the firſt invaſion of the Romans, to the laborious reſearches of the induſtrious antiquarian, we ſhall begin our narrative at that period, where we meet with clear and authentic information.

Cæſar's motives for invading Britain.

Julius Cæſar, whoſe character and exploits are well known to all who are acquainted with the Roman hiſtory, having made great progreſs in the conqueſt of Gaul, began to caſt an ambitious eye on the adjacent iſle of Britain, and to think of adding this little ſequeſtered world alſo to the Roman empire. He is ſaid to have been prompted to form this deſign, by the beauty and magnitude of the Britiſh pearls, which he greatly admired; and to have been provoked by the aſſiſtance which ſome of the Britiſh nations had given to his enemies in Gaul[3]. But his reſtleſs unbounded ambition was probably his ſtrongeſt incentive to this undertaking.

Cæſar endeavours to get intelligence.

Britain, though at no great diſtance from the continent, was at this time an unknown region to the Romans, and almoſt to all the reſt of mankind[4]. In order therefore to get ſome intelligence of the ſtate of the country which he deſigned to invade, Cæſar convened, from different parts of Gaul, a great number of merchants who had viſited this iſland, on account of

[2] Gaulfrid. Monomut. paſſim.

[3] Sueton. in vita. Jul. Cæſ. c. 47. Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 18.

[4] Dio, Caſſ. l. 39.

trade;

trade; and aſked them many queſtions concerning its dimenſions; the number, power, and cuſtoms of its inhabitants; their art of war; their harbours which were fit to receive large ſhips, &c. But theſe merchants, being either not able, or not willing, to give him ſufficient information, he diſpatched C. Voluſenus with a galley, to get ſome intelligence, and to return with it as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean time, he himſelf marched with his whole army into the territories of the Morini, and collected a large fleet in the ports of that country; that all things might be ready for the embarkation, as ſoon as Voluſenus returned [5]. A. A. C. 55.

Some of the Britiſh ſtates having received notice of the impending ſtorm, from the merchants of Gaul, they endeavoured to divert it, by ſending over ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſions to the authority of Rome, and to offer hoſtages for their fidelity. Cæſar gave theſe ambaſſadors a very kind reception; and having exhorted them to continue in their preſent diſpoſitions, he ſent them back to Britain, with Comius, whom he had conſtituted king of the Atrebatians, in their company [6]. To Comius, on whoſe prudence and fidelity he very much depended, he gave inſtructions, to viſit as many of the Britiſh ſtates as he could; to perſuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans Britons ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar.

5 The Morini inhabited the ſea-coaſt about Calais and Bologne.

6 The Atrebatians were an ancient Belgic nation who inhabited Artois. See chap. 3. ſect. 1. ¶ 5.

A. A. C. 55. (a ſoft inoffenſive name for becoming their ſubjects); and to let them know, that Cæſar deſigned, as ſoon as poſſible, to come over in perſon to their iſland [7].

Cæſar embarks his infantry, and arrives in Britain.

The ſeaſon being now far advanced, and C. Voluſenus being returned from viewing the Britiſh coaſt, and having communicated his diſcoveries, Cæſar embarked the infantry of two legions, on board eighty tranſports, at one port (ſuppoſed to be Calais), and commanded the cavalry of theſe legions to embark at another harbour at about eight miles diſtance, on board eighteen tranſports. The embarkation of the infantry being finiſhed, and the wind ſpringing up fair, Cæſar ſailed with the fleet under his immediate command about one in the morning, and reached the coaſt of Britain, near Dover, at ten in the forenoon of the ſame day, being the 26th of Auguſt, in the 55th year before the beginning of the Chriſtian æra. Some accident or miſmanagement prevented the tranſports with the cavalry from ſailing till four days after [8].

Cæſar lands his troops after a vigorous oppoſition.

As thoſe ſubmiſſions, whatever they were, which the Britiſh ſtates had made to Cæſar by their ambaſſadors, had not anſwered their deſign of diverting him from his intended expedition, they changed their meaſures, and reſolved upon a vigorous defence of their country. In conſequence of this reſolution, they impriſoned

7 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 18, 19, &c.
8 Ibid. c. 20, 21. Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 193.

Comius,

Comius, prince of the Atrebatians, and his attendants; raiſed a numerous army, and marched to that part of the coaſt where they expected the deſcent would be attempted. When Cæſar therefore approached the Britiſh ſhore, obſerving the lofty cliffs covered with an army, and that the place was not fit for landing in the face of an enemy, he reſolved to lie by for ſome time. In this interval, he communicated to his principal officers the diſcoveries which C. Voluſenus had made, gave them all the neceſſary orders for the debarkation, and exhorted them to obſerve his ſignals, and to do every thing with all poſſible readineſs and diſpatch. The wind and tide being both favourable, he made the ſignal for weighing anchor about three in the afternoon; and after ſailing about eight miles farther, he ſtopped over againſt a plain and open ſhore, probably at or near Deal[9]. Here he determined to land his army without delay; though the Britiſh army, which had attended all his motions, ſtood ready to give him a warm reception. The Roman ſoldiers had many and great difficulties to encounter on this occaſion, ariſing from the depth of the water, which ſtruck them breaſt high, the weight of their armour, and the aſſaults of the enemy, who perfectly knew the ground, and fought with great advantage. Cæſar obſerving that his men were a little daunted with theſe difficulties, and did not advance with their

A. A. C. 55.

9 Dio. l. 39. Cæſ. l. 4. c. 21.

A. A. C. 55. uſual ſpirit, commanded ſome gallies, which drew leſs water than the tranſport ſhips, to approach the ſhore, and attack the enemy in flank, with their engines, ſlings, and arrows. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at the ſhape and motion of the gallies, and playing of the engines, firſt halted, and then began to give back. But ſtill many of the Roman ſoldiers heſitated to leave their ſhips and encounter at once the waves and the enemy: when the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the Gods, jumped into the ſea, and advancing with the eagle towards the enemy, cried aloud; "Follow me, my fellow-"ſoldiers, unleſs you will betray the Roman "eagle into the hands of the enemy; for my "part, I am determined to diſcharge my duty "to Cæſar and the commonwealth." All who beheld this bold action, and heard this animating ſpeech, were fired with courage and emulation, plunged into the ſea, and advanced towards the ſhore. Now enſued a fierce and bloody ſhock, between the Romans ſtruggling eagerly to gain the land, and the Britons labouring with no leſs ardour to repulſe them. At length, Cæſar ſending conſtant ſupplies in ſmall boats, to ſuch of his men as were hardeſt preſſed, they gained ground by degrees, obliged the Britons to retire, and the whole army landed [10].

The Britons make their ſubmiſſions, The unhappy Britons, diſcouraged by the ill-ſucceſs of their attempt to prevent the landing of

[10] Cæſ. l. 4. c. 22, 23, 24.

the

the Romans, began to think of renewing their submiſſions, and obtaining peace. In order to this, they releaſed Comius the Atrebatian from his confinement, and ſent him, in company with their ambaſſadors, to Cæſar. Theſe ambaſſadors made the beſt excuſe they could for the violence which had been done to Comius, throwing the blame of it on the unruly multitude; they profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the commands of their conqueror, and offered hoſtages for a ſecurity. Cæſar, having reproached them for the violation of their former engagements, granted them peace, and ordered them to ſend him a certain number of hoſtages. Some of theſe hoſtages were immediately ſent, and the reſt promiſed, as ſoon as they could be brought from the places of their reſidence, which were at ſome diſtance. In the mean time, the Britiſh army ſeparated; the chiefs of the ſeveral nations repaired to Cæſar's camp, to ſettle their own affairs, and thoſe of their reſpective ſtates [11]. A. A. C. 55. and obtain peace.

This peace was concluded on the fourth day after Cæſar's arrival in Britain; and on the ſame day his tranſports with the cavalry ſailed with a gentle gale. But when they approached the Britiſh ſhore, and were even within ſight of the Roman camp, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which prevented their landing, and obliged them to put back into different ports of the continent. Nor was this the only injury which Cæſar ſuſtained A ſtorm.

[11] Cæſ. l. 4. c. 25.

A. A. C. 55. from this ſtorm; for it being full moon, and ſpring tides, his gallies, which were drawn up on the ſtrand, were filled with water, and the tranſports which lay at anchor in the road, were ſome of them daſhed to pieces, and others of them ſo much damaged as to be unfit for ſailing. This was a very great diſaſter; and the Romans ſeeing themſelves at once deſtitute of proviſions to ſubſiſt them on the iſland, and of ſhips to carry them out of it, were ſeized with a general conſternation [12].

Britons renew the war. If the Romans beheld theſe ſcenes of deſolation with diſmay, the Britons viewed them with ſecret joy. Their chiefs who were in Cæſar's camp, held private conſultations together; and obſerving the ſmall number of the Roman forces, and that they had neither corn, cavalry, nor ſhips; they began to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of being able to deſtroy this little army, either by force or famine; and thereby defeating the preſent, and preventing all future attempts upon their iſland. Full of theſe hopes, they retired by degrees, and under various pretences from the Roman camp, repaired to their reſpective ſtates, collected their followers, and animated them to renew the war.

Action between the Romans and Britons. Though Cæſar was not fully apprized of their deſigns, yet obſerving their affected delays in bringing in the hoſtages, and conſidering his own condition, he began to ſuſpect, that ſomething

[12] Cæſ. l. 4. c. 25.

was

was in agitation, and reſolved to provide againſt the worſt. He employed one part of his army in repairing his fleet, and the other in bringing corn into the camp. The harveſt was now all gathered in, except one field, in which, as the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion were one day foraging, they were aſſaulted by a great multitude of Britiſh Cavalry and chariots, who ruſhed out upon them from the adjacent woods. The Romans, confounded at the ſuddenneſs and unexpectedneſs of this attack, were thrown into confuſion, ſome of them ſlain, and the reſt ſurrounded, and in the greateſt danger of being cut in pieces; when they were delivered by the ſagacity and alertneſs of their general. For Cæſar being informed, that an uncommon cloud of duſt appeared on that ſide where the legion was foraging, and ſuſpecting what had happened, took the two cohorts which were upon guard, and flew to the place; leaving orders for the reſt of the army to follow. When Cæſar came to the ſcene of action, he found his troops in the moſt imminent danger. But they, being encouraged by this ſeaſonable relief, redoubled their efforts, and put the Britons to a ſtand. This contented Cæſar for the preſent, who not thinking it prudent to bring on a general engagement, ſtood facing the enemy for ſome time, and then led back the legions to the camp[13]. A. A. C. 55.

The continual rains which followed, prevented any farther action in the field for ſome days. This Another action.

[13] Cæſ. l. 4. c 27, 28, 29, 30.

time

A. A. C. 55. time was employed by the Britons in ſending meſſengers into all parts, to inform their countrymen of the ſmall number and diſtreſsful ſtate of the Roman troops; and to exhort them to embrace the preſent favourable opportunity of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of their enemies, and of deſtroying the invaders of their country. Such multitudes complied with theſe exhortations, that they got together ſo great an army, both of horſe and foot, as emboldened them to approach the Roman camp, with a deſign to force its entrenchments. But Cæſar, not waiting for the aſſault, drew up his legions before the camp, and fell upon the Britons with ſuch fury, that they could not long ſuſtain the ſhock. The Romans having purſued the fugitives for ſome time with great ſlaughter, and deſolated the ſurrounding country, returned victorious to their camp[14].

Cæſar makes peace with the Britons, and returns to Gaul.

The Britons, again diſheartened by their defeat, ſent ambaſſadors that ſame day to Cæſar to ſue for peace. This was granted without delay, and on no harder conditions than doubling the number of hoſtages, which were to be ſent after him into Gaul. This facility of Cæſar proceeded from his impatience to leave the iſland before winter, which was now approaching. Having now refitted his fleet with the loſs of no more than twelve ſhips, he embarked his army with all poſſible expedition; and after a ſtay of little more than three weeks in Britain,

[14] Cæſ. l. 4. c. 30, 31.

he

he ſet ſail and arrived ſafe in Gaul [15]. Thus ended Cæſar's firſt expedition into Britain; which, though it was extolled by his partizans at Rome, as one of the moſt glorious and wonderful exploits, was really attended with little honour, and leſs advantage [16]. His retreat at this time appears to have been exceedingly precipitate, and his own manner of relating it is ſo very ſhort and ſummary, that we can hardly help ſuſpecting that there are ſome material circumſtances ſuppreſſed. However this may be, he gave ſo ſpecious a repreſentation of his expedition in his letters to the Roman ſenate, that a ſupplication of twenty days was decreed to his honour. A. A. C. 55.

As ſoon as Cæſar arrived in Gaul, he began to make preparations for a ſecond expedition into Britain, which he deſigned to undertake the next year, at a more early ſeaſon, and with a much more formidable army. In order to this, before he left his winter-quarters to go into Italy, as was his yearly cuſtom, he gave orders to his lieutenants to repair his old ſhips, and to build as many new ones as poſſible, during the winter. He alſo gave directions to build theſe ſhips lower, broader, and lighter than uſual; that they might draw leſs water, approach nearer the ſhore, and be more convenient for embarking and landing his troops, eſpecially his cavalry. Theſe orders were executed with ſo much diligence, that at his return out of Italy in the ſpring, he A. A. C. 54. Cæſar makes preparation for a ſecond expedition into Britain.

15 Cæſ. l. 4. c. 32. 16 Dio. l. 39.

found

A. A. C. 54. found no fewer than ſix hundred tranſports, of the conſtruction which he had preſcribed, and twenty-eight gallies, almoſt ready for launching. He beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on his lieutenants and ſoldiers, for their great activity in this ſervice; and having left a ſufficient number of men, to finiſh his ſhips, and conduct them to the general rendezvous at Portus Itius, now Calais; he led the reſt of his army againſt the Treviri, or people of Treves [17].

Cæſar lands his army in Britain.

Cæſar having brought the Treviri to ſubmiſſion, marched his army to Portus Itius, where he found all his fleet (except about forty ſhips, which had been diſabled in a ſtorm) completely rigged and ready to ſail. At this place he was met, according to his orders, by all the cavalry, and chief nobility of the ſeveral ſtates of Gaul. The greateſt part of the nobility he determined to carry with him into Britain, to prevent their raiſing commotions in his abſence. Having ſpent about three weeks here, in ſettling the affairs of Gaul, embarking his troops, and waiting for a fair wind, he ſailed one evening about ſunſet, probably in the month of May or June, with a gallant army of five legions and two thouſand horſe, on board a fleet conſiſting of more than eight hundred ſhips. The wind being ſouth-weſt, and the tide retiring, the fleet fell too far to the north-eaſt during the night; but next morning, the ſoldiers plying the oars with great

17 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 1, 2, 3.

vigour, and being aſſiſted by the returning tide, they gained the coaſt of Britain about noon, at the ſame place where they had landed the year before [18]. Here he diſembarked the whole army without delay or oppoſition. For though the Britons had received early intelligence of the mighty preparations which were making for a ſecond invaſion of their iſland, and had formed a ſtrong confederacy, and collected a powerful army for its defence; yet when they beheld this prodigious fleet approaching their coaſts, they were ſtruck with conſternation, deſpaired of being able to prevent the landing, and retired ſome miles up the country. A. A. C. 54.

Two actions between the Romans and Britons.

Cæſar having landed his troops, and received information from ſome priſoners where the Britons lay, he left only ten cohorts and three hundred horſe upon the coaſt, under Q. Atrius, to guard his fleet, and ſet out that very evening in queſt of the enemy, with all the reſt of his army. After a fatiguing march of twelve hours, moſtly in the night, he came in ſight of the Britiſh army, which was poſted behind a river, probably the Stour, on ſome riſing grounds; and from thence they attacked the Romans, and endeavoured to prevent their paſſing the river. But the cavalry having cleared the way, the whole army paſſed; and the Britons retired towards ſome adjacent woods, into a place ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, perhaps where

[18] Cæſ. l. 5. c. 4, 5. 7.

Canter-

A. A. C. 54. Canterbury now ſtands. In this faſtneſs the Britons lay cloſe for ſome time, and only ſallied out in ſmall parties. But the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion, advancing under cover of their ſhields, and having caſt up a mount, forced the intrenchments without much loſs, and obliged the enemy to abandon the place. Cæſar did not think it prudent to permit any purſuit at ſo late an hour, and in a country ſo much unknown; but recalling his men, he employed the remainder of the evening in fortifying his camp [19].

A ſtorm. Early next morning this active, indefatigable general renewed his operations; and having divided his army into three bodies, ſent them in purſuit of the enemy. When they had marched a little way, and had diſcovered the rear of the Britiſh army, a party of horſe arrived with diſpatches from Q. Atrius to Cæſar, acquainting him, that a dreadful ſtorm had ariſen the night before, and had fallen upon the fleet with ſo much fury, that it had driven almoſt all the ſhips aſhore, after they had ſuſtained unſpeakable damage, by running foul of one another. As ſoon as he received this unwelcome news, he recalled his troops from the purſuit of the enemy, and marched with all expedition to the ſea-coaſt. When he arrived there, he found his fleet in as bad a condition as it had been repreſented. Forty ſhips were entirely deſtroyed, and the reſt ſo much damaged, that they were hardly repairable. He

[19] Cæſ. l. 5. c. 8. Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 14.

immediately ſet all the carpenters in his fleet and army to work, ſent for others from Gaul, and diſpatched orders to Labienus, his lieutenant there, to build as many ſhips as poſſible. Cæſar, being now convinced by his repeated loſſes, that there was no ſafety for his fleet in riding at anchor in the open road, determined to draw all his ſhips on ſhore, and incloſe them within the fortifications of his camp. Though this was a work of prodigious labour and difficulty, yet, by the vigorous and inceſſant toil of the whole army, it was accompliſhed in the ſhort ſpace of ten days. Having thus repaired and ſecured his fleet, and left it under the ſame guard as before, he marched his army to the place where he had deſiſted from the purſuit of the enemy [20]. A. A. C. 54.

It is very ſurprizing that the Britons gave the Romans no diſturbance while they were repairing their fleet. It appears that they were employed in this interval in ſtrengthening their confederacy, increaſing their army, and in chuſing a commander in chief, that they might exert their force with greater union and effect. The choice fell upon Caſſibelanus, prince of the Caſſi or Cattivellauni [21], who had the chief command and adminiſtration of the war conferred upon him by common conſent. This was in ſome reſpects a wiſe and prudent, and in others, an unhappy choice. For Caſſibelanus was a prince of great Caſſibelanus choſen generaliſſimo of the Britons.

[20] Cæſ. l. 5. c. 9.

[21] The ancient inhabitants of Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire.

courage

A. A. C. 54. courage and military experience, and was at the head of one of the moſt warlike and powerful tribes in the confederacy; but he and his ſubjects had been engaged in continual wars with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, which could not but weaken the attachment of theſe ſtates to the perſon of the commander, and to the common cauſe[22]. The Britons, however, under this new leader, waited the approach of the Romans with undaunted countenances.

Several actions between the Romans and Britons.

As ſoon as the hoſtile armies drew near to each other they began to ſkirmiſh. The Britiſh horſe, ſupported by their chariots, charged the Roman cavalry with great vigour. They were repulſed, indeed, or pretended to be ſo, when the Romans, purſuing with too much eagerneſs, ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. Some time after theſe firſt ſkirmiſhes, as the Romans were one day employed in fortifying their camp, the Britons ſallied out upon them from the adjacent woods, routed the advanced guard, defeated two choice cohorts, which were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the guard, killed Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, and at laſt retired without loſs. By this laſt action, which happened within view of the camp, Cæſar and his whole army were convinced, that they had a dangerous enemy to deal with, who were equally briſk in their attacks, quick in their retreats, and ſudden in turning upon their purſuers. The day after this action, the Britons

[22] Cæſ. Bell. Gall. l. 5. c. 9.

appeared

appeared upon the hills, at a greater diſtance, in ſmaller bodies, and ſeemed leſs forward to ſkirmiſh than uſual. This encouraged Cæſar to ſend out three legions, with all his cavalry, to forage, under the command of C. Trebonius his lieutenant. About noon, the Britons ruſhed ſuddenly from the ſurrounding woods upon the foragers. But here they met with a more vigorous reſiſtance than they expected; and being repulſed, the Roman cavalry, ſupported by their foot, purſued them with ſuch order and firmneſs, that they had no opportunity of practiſing their uſual ſtratagems, and were at length entirely broken and diſperſed [23]. A. A. C. 54.

Defections among the Britons.

The Britons had no ſooner received this ſevere check, than their ill-cemented union began to diſſolve; and ſuch of the confederates as lay at a diſtance from immediate danger, abandoned the common cauſe, and retired to their own homes. Caſſibelanus, diſcouraged by this defection of his allies, and convinced that his troops were not a match for the Romans in pitched battles, reſolved to retire into his own territories, and ſtand on the defenſive [24].

Cæſar paſſeth the Thames.

Cæſar, who had not as yet penetrated far into the country, now ſeeing no enemy to oppoſe him, advanced towards the Thames, with a deſign to paſs that river, and make war on Caſſibelanus in his own kingdom. When he reached the Thames, at a place called Coway-ſtakes, he ſaw

[23] Cæſ. Bel. Gal. c. 12, 13. [24] Id. ibid. c. 12, 13.

A. A. C. 54. the enemy drawn up in great numbers on the oppoſite banks, which were alſo fortified with ſharp ſtakes; and he was informed by priſoners and deſerters, that many ſtakes of the ſame kind were driven into the bed of the river. Not diſcouraged by all theſe obſtacles, he commanded the cavalry to ford the river, and the infantry to follow cloſe after, though it was ſo deep that their heads only appeared above the water. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of this attempt, after a feeble reſiſtance, abandoned the banks, and fled [25].

War chariots. Caſſibelanus, now obſerving that the greateſt part of his troops, eſpecially his infantry, were ſo much diſpirited, that they were of little uſe, diſmiſſed them; and retained only the war-chariots of his army, amounting to four thouſand, about his perſon. With this ſmall, but formidable body, he watched all the motions of the Roman army, haraſſed them in their marches, and frequently ſallied from the woods upon their foraging and plundering parties. This not only annoyed the enemy, but preſerved the country from devaſtation. For Cæſar, obſerving the dangers to which his cavalry were expoſed, when they ventured to make excurſions into the fields, would not permit them to remove to any great diſtance from the legions, nor to pillage the country, unleſs when they were ſupported by the infantry [26].

[25] Cæſ. Bel. Gal. c. 14. [26] Id. ibid. c. 15.

But

A. A C. 54.

Several Britiſh ſtates make peace with Cæſar.

But the want of a cordial union among the Britiſh ſtates, and the ſecret rancour which ſome of them entertained againſt Caſſibelanus for former injuries, defeated all the efforts of that general. The Trinobantes [27] in particular retained a deep reſentment againſt him, for his having ſlain their prince Imanuentius, and obliged his ſon Mandubratius to fly into Gaul to avoid the ſame fate. As ſoon, therefore, as Cæſar approached their confines, they ſent ambaſſadors to him, with offers of obedience and ſubmiſſion, and to implore his protection againſt the violence of Caſſibelanus, and to entreat him to reſtore Mandubratius (who was then in his army) to the government of their ſtate. Cæſar accepted of their ſubmiſſions, granted their requeſts, and having demanded and obtained forty hoſtages, and a quantity of corn for his army, he took them under his protection, and ſecured their perſons and properties from all injuries. This induced many of the neighbouring ſtates, as the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi [28], to ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar, to make their ſubmiſſions, which were accepted with the ſame facility [29].

Capital of Caſſibelanus taken.

Cæſar derived great advantages from the ſubmiſſion of ſo many Britiſh ſtates. Amongſt other things, they gave him intelligence, that he was not far from the capital of Caſſibelanus, into

27 See chap. 3. ſect. 1. People of Eſſex, Middleſex, and Surry.
28 See chap. 3. ſect. 1.
29 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 16, 17.

A. A. C. 54. which great multitudes of men and cattle had retired for ſafety. This town, which was little more than a wood with a number of ſtraggling villages in it, and ſurrounded with a ditch and rampart, was ſituated where the flouriſhing city of Verulamium afterwards ſtood, and near where the town of St. Albans now ſtands [30]. Though this place was very ſtrong both by art and nature, Cæſar ſoon made himſelf maſter of it, and of a great booty in cattle and priſoners, which he found in it [31].

The Britons make an unſucceſsful attempt on the Roman camp.

Caſſibelanus, not yet diſpirited by the defection of his allies, the loſs of his capital, and all his other loſſes, formed a ſcheme, which, if it had been as ſucceſsfully executed as it was prudently planned, would have involved the Romans in very great difficulties. This artful general obſerving that Cæſar was now at a great diſtance from his fleet, which he had left under a weak guard, he formed the deſign of deſtroying it. With this view, he ſent meſſengers to Cingetorix, Carmilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, the four chieftains of the Cantii, to draw all their forces together, and fall ſuddenly on the naval camp of the Romans, which was in their country [32]. Theſe chieftains obeyed his orders, and aſſaulted the Roman camp, but were repulſed with great loſs, and Cingetorix was taken priſoner [33].

30 Camb. Brit. p. 350.
31 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 17.
32 See chap. 3. ſect. 1.
33 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 18.

Caſſibelanus,

Caſſibelanus, who had diſcharged all the duties of a general and a patriot with great courage and abilities, ſeeing all his ſchemes miſcarry, was now convinced that it would be in vain to ſtruggle any longer. He determined, therefore, to make his peace on the eaſieſt terms he could; and for this purpoſe he ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, and alſo employed the mediation of Comius the Atrebatian, to whom he had probably done ſome friendly offices, when he was a priſoner amongſt the Britons. Theſe advances from Caſſibelanus were highly agreeable to Cæſar, who ſeems to have been heartily tired of his Britiſh expedition, and earneſtly deſirous of returning to the continent, where he dreaded ſome commotion. The ambaſſadors, therefore, found little difficulty in their negotiation, and a peace was ſoon concluded on theſe terms—That Caſſibelanus ſhould offer no injury to Mandubratius, or his ſubjects the Trinobantes—That Britain ſhould give a certain number of hoſtages; and pay a certain yearly tribute to the Romans [34]. Neither the number of hoſtages, nor the nature or quantity of the tribute ſtipulated by this treaty, are mentioned by Cæſar. It ſeems indeed probable, that he inſiſted upon theſe ſtipulations, rather with a view to ſave his own honour, and the honour of the Roman name, than from any expectation that they would be performed. We ſhould have been very glad, however, to have known what kind,

A. A. C. 54.

Caſſibelanus makes his peace with Cæſar.

34 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 19.

A. C. 54. and what quantity of tribute Britain was capable of affording at this early period.

Cæſar returns with his army into Gaul.

The peace being now concluded, Cæſar marched his army back to the ſea-coaſt, and immediately gave orders for launching his fleet, which he found completely repaired. But he had loſt ſo many ſhips in the late ſtorm, and had received ſo few from Gaul (thoſe built by Labienus having been moſtly put back or deſtroyed in their paſſage), that he had not a ſufficient number to contain his whole army, together with his hoſtages and priſoners, which were very numerous. Rather than ſtay to build more ſhips, or wait for them from the continent, he reſolved to tranſport his troops, &c. at two embarkations. So great was the good fortune of this general, that he did not loſe ſo much as one ſhip which had ſoldiers on board, in any of his two Britiſh expeditions, though ſeveral empty ones, particularly many of thoſe employed in the firſt embarkation, were loſt in their return to Britain. Cæſar, with the laſt diviſion of his army, ſet ſail about ten at night, and arrived ſafe, with his whole fleet, on the continent of Gaul, by day-break the next morning, being September 26th, in the 54th year before the beginning of the Chriſtian æra [35].

Sentiments of ſeveral authors on Cæſar's two expeditions into Britain.

Such is the account given by Cæſar himſelf, (who was one of the moſt elegant writers, as well as one of the moſt illuſtrious warriors, of anti-

35 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 19. Cicero Epiſt. ad Atticum, l. 4. ep. 17.

quity,)

quity,) of his two expeditions into Britain. Some of his cotemporaries have inſinuated, that in his commentaries he did not very ſtrictly adhere to truth, but ſet his own actions in too fair a light [36]. Nor is this, conſidering his exceſſive love of fame, a very improbable ſuſpicion. But even from this account it appears, that he had no great reaſon to boaſt of his ſucceſs in Britain. For after he had been at an immenſe expence, and had expoſed himſelf and his army to many toils and dangers, he abandoned the iſland at laſt, without having erected a ſingle fort upon it, or left a ſingle cohort in it to ſecure his conqueſt. The other ancient writers ſpeak of theſe expeditions of Cæſar into Britain very differently, as they were well or ill affected to his fame and perſon. On the one hand, Velleius Paterculus ſays, that Cæſar paſſed twice through Britain [37]; which cannot be true, becauſe it appears from his own account, that in his firſt expedition he never left the ſea-coaſt; and in his ſecond, he never penetrated farther into the country than about St. Albans. The hiſtorians, Diodorus Siculus, Suetonius, and Eutropius, ſpeak of Cæſar's exploits in Britain, in terms which might imply, that he conquered it, and made it tributary [38]. But theſe expreſſions are evidently too ſtrong, if they mean any more than that he gained ſome victories in Britain, and impoſed a tribute (which A. A. C. 54.

36 Sueton. l. 1. c. 56. in Jul. Cæſar. 37 Vel. Pater. l. 2. c. 47.
38 Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 8. Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 25. Eutrop. l. 6. c. 14.

A. A. C. 54. was probably never paid) on a few Britiſh ſtates. On the other hand, Dio ſays, "That "Cæſar gained nothing either to himſelf or to "the ſtate, by his expeditions into Britain;" and Strabo, "That he did nothing great in Britain, "nor penetrated far into the iſland[39]." Tacitus makes Boadicea and Caractacus ſay, in their harangues to their armies, long after, "That "the Romans would fly and leave the iſland as "the deified Julius had done, if they emulated "the bravery of their anceſtors,—and invoked "the names of their anceſtors who had expelled "Cæſar the dictator[40]." The reproach which Lucan puts into the mouth of Pompey on this ſubject is well known[41]. But Q. Cicero (who was with Cæſar in his ſecond expedition) ſeems to ſpeak moſt impartially of this matter, in a private letter to his brother: "The Britiſh af-"fairs (ſays he) afford no foundation either for "much fear or much joy[42]." The truth is, that though Cæſar acted in theſe expeditions with his uſual wiſdom and courage, yet he was at laſt convinced that no conqueſts could then be made in Britain, which would compenſate the expence, the difficulty and danger of making them; and therefore he left it, with a reſolution never to return; and the many buſtling bloody ſcenes in

39 Dio. l. 39. p. 115. Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.
40 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 15. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.
41 Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis. Lucan, l. 2. v. 572.
42 Cic. Epiſt. l. 3. epiſt. 1.

which

which he was afterwards engaged on the continent, confirmed him in that reſolution. A. A. C. 54.

After the departure of Julius Cæſar, there follows a long blank, of near one hundred years, in the hiſtory of Britain, which cannot be filled up in any tolerable manner. Even the fertile imagination of Jeffrey of Monmouth fails him on this occaſion; and all he ſays of the affairs of Britain, in this long period, is compriſed in ſeven ſhort ſentences, in which there is little information, and leſs truth[43]. It appears, that as ſoon as the Britiſh nations were delivered from their apprehenſions of a foreign enemy, they returned to the proſecution of their internal quarrels and wars againſt one another. In theſe wars (of which we know few particulars) Caſſibelanus and his ſucceſſors, and their ſubjects, the Cattivellauni, ſtill maintained the aſcendant, and reduced the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, and ſeveral other neighbouring nations under their obedience[44]. Thoſe Britiſh ſtates which had ſubmitted to Cæſar, ſuffered moſt in theſe wars, and probably on that very account. Three of them, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Segontiaci, were ſo entirely ſubdued, that they loſt their very name and being, as ſeparate ſtates, and are never afterwards mentioned in hiſtory. Cunobelinus was in ſeveral reſpects the moſt illuſtrious ſucceſſor of Caſſibelanus, and the moſt powerful of the Britiſh

From A. A. C. 54. to A. A. C. 29. State of Britain after the departure of Cæſar.

43 Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 4. c. 11.

44 Dio. l. 49. See chap. 3. ſect. 1. p. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11.

From A. A. C. 54. to A. A. C. 29.

princes of this period. He ſeems to have arrived at a degree of greatneſs formerly unknown in this iſland, and to have been ſovereign of the greateſt part of South Britain. After his death, his dominions were divided between his widow, the famous Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, and his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who were the moſt conſiderable princes in Britain, when it was again invaded by the Romans, under the emperor Claudius.

From A. A. C. 29 to A. D. 12. Auguſtus.

During this long period of ninety-ſeven years, from the retreat of Julius to the invaſion of Claudius, the Britons met with no diſturbance, and with but few alarms from foreign enemies. While the Romans were engaged in the horrors of their civil wars, and for ſome time after, Britain was entirely neglected by them, and the tribute, which had been impoſed by Cæſar, was never paid. Even after Auguſtus had attained the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole Roman empire, he did not think it proper to invade Britain; being probably reſtrained from it by his favourite maxim, "Never to fiſh with a golden "hook;" *i. e.* never to engage in an enterpriſe that was likely to be more expenſive than profitable[45]. This conjecture is confirmed by the obſervation of Tacitus, that Auguſtus abſtained from invading Britain upon mature deliberation, and from principles of prudence[46]. But as a few threatenings would coſt little, Auguſtus ſe-

45 Sueton. vita Auguſt. c. 25

46 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

veral

veral times gave out, that he intended an expedition into Britain. Particularly in the 6th year of his reign, and 25th before the beginning of the Chriſtian æra, when he was in Gaul regulating the tribute of that country, he threatened to paſs over into Britain, for the ſame purpoſe. But being ſuddenly called away from theſe parts by the Cantabrian war, theſe threats had no great influence on the Britiſh princes[47]. About four years after this, when the Roman empire was in a ſtate of great tranquillity, he again threatened to invade Britain; and ſeveral of the Britiſh nations were ſo much intimidated by theſe threats, that they ſent ambaſſadors to Auguſtus to promiſe ſubmiſſion, and the payment of the ſtipulated tribute[48]. But theſe promiſes were but ill performed, except by a few princes who courted the favour and protection of Rome, which obliged Auguſtus to threaten a third time an invaſion of this iſland; from which alſo he was diverted, by a revolt of the Byſcayans and ſome other nations. To theſe intended or rather threatened expeditions of Auguſtus into Britain, the verſes of Horace, the favourite poet of this great emperor, (which are quoted below,) undoubtedly refer; and they ſhew at leaſt, that ſuch expeditions were the ſubject of converſation at the imperial court[49]. But though this emperor

From A. A. C. 29. to A. D. 12.

A. A. C. 21.

47 Dio. l. 49. 48 Dio. l. 53.

49 Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præſens Divus habebitur
Auguſtus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio. L. iii. Ode 5.

A. A. C. 21. peror never actually invaded, and perhaps never really intended to invade Britain, yet he derived conſiderable profits from it, ariſing partly from the preſents and tributes of ſome of its princes, who cultivated his friendſhip, and partly from certain cuſtoms which he impoſed upon all goods which were either exported from the continent into this iſland, or from hence to the continent [50].

A. D. 15. Tiberius. Tiberius, the ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor of Auguſtus, purſued the ſame meaſures with regard to Britain, accepting of ſuch preſents, tributes, and cuſtoms, as were willingly given, and abſtaining from hoſtilities [51]. During the reign of this emperor, there ſeems to have been a good underſtanding, and an intercourſe of friendly offices between the Romans and Britons. For when ſome of the ſhips of Germanicus's fleet, which had been diſperſed by a dreadful ſtorm, were wrecked on the coaſt of Britain, the petty princes of that country received and entertained the ſoldiers with great kindneſs, and ſent them to their general [52].

A. D. 40. Caligula. Caligula, the nephew and ſucceſſor of Tiberius, formed a deſign of invading Britain, if

Te belluoſus, qui remotis
Obſtrepit Oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventes funera Galliæ,
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ. L. iv. Ode 12.
Serves iturum Cæſarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos. L. i. Ode 29.

50 Strabo, l. 4. 51 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.
52 Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 23.

any

any thing that came into the head of ſuch a frantic wretch can be called a deſign. He was met upon his march by Adminius, a Britiſh prince, who having been expelled the iſland by his own father, Cunobelinus, now ſurrendered himſelf, and the few followers of his deſperate fortune, to the emperor, who was as much elated upon it, as if the whole iſland, and all its princes, had ſubmitted to his authority. The letters which he wrote to Rome on this occaſion were full of the moſt pompous expreſſions of his wonderful ſucceſs; and he commanded the bearers of theſe letters to drive up to the ſenate-houſe, and to deliver them to the conſuls in the temple of Mars, in a full aſſembly of the ſenators[53]. When he reached the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Britain, with an army of 200,000 men, he acted in a moſt ridiculous and fantaſtical manner. For having drawn up his army in order of battle upon the ſhore, with all the baliſtæ and other engines of war, he embarked on board a galley, ſailed out a little way, and then returning ſuddenly, he mounted a lofty throne, and from thence gave the word of command to engage. But no enemy appearing, he commanded his ſoldiers to gather ſhells upon the ſhore. For this noble ſervice he highly praiſed and laviſhly rewarded them; the ſhells, which he ſtiled the ſpoils of the conquered ocean, he ſent to Rome, as the chief ornaments of his triumph for this

A. D. 40.

[53] Sueton. in C. Calig. c. 44.

glorious

A. D. 40. glorious exploit [54]. Such a compoſition of cowardice, vanity, folly, and madneſs, was this mighty maſter of the world!

A. D. 43. Claudius ſends an army into Britain.

But the time was now approaching when Britain was to be invaded in good earneſt, and reduced to the ſame ſubjection with other nations, to the almoſt unbounded power of Rome. This calamity was brought upon her by one of her own degenerate and factious ſons. It ſeems to have been a cuſtom in theſe times, for ſuch perſons of diſtinction as were expelled, or obliged to fly out of this iſland, to take ſhelter in the court of Rome [55]. One of theſe fugitives, named Bericus, who had been driven out of the iſland for ſedition, perſuaded the Emperor Claudius, the ſucceſſor of Caligula, to attempt the conqueſt of Britain. This enterpriſe, being reſolved upon, Aulus Plautius, who was of conſular dignity, and a general of great wiſdom and valour, was commanded to conduct a conſiderable army out of Gaul into Britain, and begin the war; with orders to acquaint the emperor if he met with great oppoſition, that he might come to his aſſiſtance. The ſoldiers expreſſed great averſion and reluctance to embark in this expedition, which, they ſaid, was to make war beyond the limits of the world. So little was Britain ſtill known to the bulk of the Romans, and ſo frightful were the ideas which they entertained of the country and

54 Sueton. in C. Calig. c. 46. Dio. l. 59. p. 659.
55 Sueton. in C. Claud. c. 17.

its

its inhabitants! Being at length prevailed upon by Plautius to follow him, he divided them into three diſtinct bodies, which all arrived ſafe on the Britiſh coaſt, and landed without oppoſition [56]. This army conſiſted of four complete legions, with their auxiliaries and cavalry, making about fifty thouſand men; and was commanded, under the general, by Veſpaſian, who was afterwards emperor, Sabinus his brother, and other excellent officers [57]. A. D 43.

The Britiſh princes do not ſeem to have been ſufficiently apprehenſive of their danger on this occaſion, nor to have made ſuitable preparations for their own defence. We hear of no confederacy formed, no commander in chief elected, nor of any armies raiſed to guard the coaſts. They no doubt had received intelligence of this expedition before it took place; but they probably flattered themſelves, that it would end in empty threats, or in ſome ſuch ridiculous way as that of Caligula had lately ended. It was alſo no ſmall misfortune to the Britons, that their great prince Cunobelinus was now dead, and his dominions divided between his widow Cartiſmunda, and his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who did not act with that union, which their near relation and common danger required. Theſe two princes, however, armed their reſpective ſubjects, reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, and endeavour to protract the war The Britons do not make proper preparations.

56 Dio, l. 60. 57 See Append. No. 8.

till

A. D. 43. till winter, when they hoped that the Roman general would return into Gaul with his army, as Julius Cæſar had formerly done[58].

Several actions between the Britons and the Romans.

Aulus Plautius, having met with no reſiſtance at his landing, nor from any of the Britiſh ſtates on the ſea-coaſt, marched his army up the country, in queſt of thoſe who were in arms. In this march he was, no doubt, guided by Bericus, who knew the country, and led him into thoſe parts where his friends and intereſt lay; which ſeems to have been amongſt the Cattivellauni and Dobuni[59]. By the direction of this guide, he firſt overtook and defeated Caractacus; and ſoon after his brother Togodumnus ſhared the ſame fate. After theſe two ſucceſsful actions, and the retreat of the Britiſh army, a part of the Dobuni ſubmitted to the Romans. Theſe were probably the ſubjects of Cogidunus, who became ſo great a favourite of Claudius, and ſucceeding emperors, for his early ſubmiſſion, and ſteady adherence to their intereſt. Plautius, having left a garriſon in theſe parts, to ſecure his conqueſts, advanced in purſuit of the Britons, who had taken ſhelter behind a river, which they imagined the Romans could not paſs, becauſe there were no bridges. But in this they found themſelves miſtaken; for the Roman general ſent over the German auxiliaries in his army, who were ſuch excellent ſwimmers, that they could paſs the moſt rapid ſtreams in their arms. Theſe Germans did not indeed

[58] Dio. l. 60.

[59] See chap. 3. ſect. 1, &c.

indeed attack the Britons; but they did them a great deal of miſchief, by wounding and hamſtringing many of their chariot-horſes. Soon after this, the renowned Veſpaſian, with his brother Sabinus, at the head of a large body of troops, paſſed the river, and ſurpriſed and ſlew a great number of the enemy. But ſuch was the ſteady reſolution of the unhappy Britons, that they ſtill maintained their ground, till they were defeated the day after in a general action, which was fought with ſo much bravery on both ſides, that the victory was for ſome time doubtful. C. Sidius Geta, who was once in great danger of being taken, contributed ſo much to the obtaining of this victory, that he had triumphal honours conferred upon him, though he had not yet been conſul. The Britons, after this great defeat, retired to the North ſide of the river Thames, which they paſſed at a place where marſhes and ſtagnating waters, occaſioned by the overflowing of the river, and the uncultivated ſtate of the country, rendered the paſſage very difficult and dangerous. But nothing could obſtruct the progreſs of the victorious Romans. The Germans having followed the route of the enemy, and the reſt of the army having paſſed over a bridge a little higher up the river, they gave the Britons another overthrow; but purſuing the fugitives too eagerly, they fell into impaſſable bogs, and loſt a great many men [60]. A. D. 43.

[60] Dio. l. 60.

A. D. 43.

A. Plautius retires beyond the Thames.

The Roman general obſerving, that though the Britons had received ſo many defeats, and had loſt Togodumnus, one of their princes, they ſtill continued undaunted, and made no propoſals of peace or ſubmiſſion, he thought proper to acquaint the emperor with the ſtate of affairs in Britain, and invite him to come over, and put an end to the war. He then returned with his army to the ſouth ſide of the river Thames, and remained on the defenſive; that he might neither expoſe himſelf to any diſaſter, nor finiſh the war before the emperor's arrival [61].

Claudius arrives in Britain.

As ſoon as Claudius received this intelligence, he committed the charge both of the city and army to Vitellius, his colleague in the conſulate, and embarking at Oſtia he ſailed to Marſeilles. From thence he travelled by land to Boulogne, where he took ſhip for Britain, and arrived ſafe in the army there, of which he aſſumed the command [62]. One of the ancient hiſtorians, from whom our account of theſe tranſactions is chiefly taken, relates, "That the emperor paſſed the "Thames, defeated the Britons, took Camu- "lodunum, the capital of Cunobelinus, and "brought many under ſubjection by force, and "others by ſurrender [63]." But another tells us, "That he came over into Britain, and part of "the iſland ſubmitted within a few days after "his arrival, without battle or bloodſhed." This

[61] Dio. l. 60. [62] Id. ibid.
[63] Sueton. in C. Claud. c. 17.

laſt

laſt account is confirmed by the inſcription quoted below [64]. However this may be, Claudius having received the ſubmiſſions of ſuch princes and ſtates as were either forced or diſpoſed to make them, and appointed Aulus Plautius the firſt governor of this new province, with orders to proſecute the war, haſtened back to Rome, which he entered in triumph, in leſs than ſix months after his departure from it [65]. He appointed Veſpaſian to be ſecond in command, and to aſſiſt Plautius in the government of the province, and the management of the war. In this office, that great general acquired much honour, and laid the foundation of his future fame and greatneſs [66]. At the head of one diviſion of the Roman army he carried on the war againſt the Belgic Britons, who inhabited the ſea-coaſts from Kent to the Land's-end. Here, in the courſe of a few years, he had two and thirty engagements with the enemy, reduced the iſle of Wight, and ſubdued the Belgæ and Deurotriges, two of the moſt powerful nations in theſe parts [67]. Plautius, with A. D. 43.

64. TI. CLAVDIO CÆS.
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI MAX. TR. P. IX.
COS. V. IMP. XVI. P. P.
SENATVS POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQ;
VLLA IACTVRA DOMVERIT
GENTESQVE BARBARAS
PRIMVS INDICIO SVBEGERIT.

See Wright's Travels, p. 293.

65 Sueton. in Claud. c. 17. 66 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

67 Sueton. in Fl. Veſpaſ. c. 4. Eutrop. l. 7. c. 8.

A. D. 43. the other diviſion of the army, proſecuted the war againſt the inland Britons, who were ſtill commanded by the brave Caractacus. We are not particularly informed of the exploits of Plautius, but that, in general, he carried on the Britiſh war very ſucceſsfully, and that when he was recalled from his government, he had the honour of an ovation, or leſſer triumph, in which the emperor walked on his left hand to the capitol [68].

A. D. 50. Oſtorius governor of Britain.

Aulus Plautius being recalled A. D. 47. the direction of affairs in this iſland ſeems to have been in the hands of the legates or commanders of the legions to A. D. 50. when Oſtorius Scapula, a general of conſular quality, was appointed governor of the Roman province in Britain [69]. It ſeems probable that the Britons had gained ſome advantages in this interval; for when Oſtorius arrived in Britain, he found all things in great confuſion, and the enemy plundering the territories of the Roman allies. Theſe predatory bands acted with the greater boldneſs, becauſe they imagined that a new general would hardly take the field, in the winter ſeaſon, at the head of troops to which he was a ſtranger. But in this they found themſelves miſtaken. For Oſtorius being ſenſible that the activity and intrepidity of a general at his firſt entering upon his command, contributed greatly to

[68] Dio. l. 60. Sueton. in Claud. c. 24. Eutrop. l. 7. c. 8.
[69] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

raiſe

raiſe his reputation, and ſtrike terror into his enemies, led forth his troops immediately againſt the plunderers, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. In order to protect the province from future incurſions, this prudent general built a chain of forts along the banks of the rivers Nen and Severn: and to preſerve it from internal commotions, he commanded all ſuch as he ſuſpected, both ſubjects and allies, to deliver up their arms [70]. A. D. 50.

This laſt meaſure became the occaſion of a new war. For the Iceni [71], who had very early entered into an alliance with the Romans, and had ſuffered nothing in all the late wars, choſe rather to revolt than to reſign their arms; and being joined by ſome neighbouring nations, they raiſed a conſiderable army, which they encamped in a place defended by a ditch, and inacceſſible to cavalry. Oſtorius, knowing the great advantage of celerity on ſuch occaſions, collected ſuch troops as were neareſt, and commanding his cavalry to diſmount and fight on foot, attacked the revolters in their entrenchments. The battle was for ſome time obſtinate and bloody; but the Britons being at length thrown into confuſion, were hampered and entangled with their own encloſures, and entirely defeated. This defeat obliged ſeveral other nations who were wavering between peace and war, A. D. 51. Oſtorius ſubdues the Iceni.

70 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 30.

71 The Iceni inhabited the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. See chap. 3. ſect. 1.

A. D. 51. to remain in quiet. To prevent the like inſurrections, and keep the ſurrounding country in awe, Oſtorius planted a numerous colony of veterans at Camulodunum, now Malden, in Eſſex [72].

Oſtorius quiets a ſedition among the Brigantes.

After Oſtorius had thus reſtored the tranquillity, and provided for the ſecurity of the Roman province in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain, he marched his army weſtward; and having in his march defeated a numerous army of Ceangi [73], arrived within a little way of the ſea which waſhes the coaſt of Ireland. But he was ſoon recalled from thence, by the news of ſome commotions which had ariſen amongſt the Brigantes, who had made an alliance with the Romans [74]. Theſe commotions he ſuppreſſed in a little time, and without much difficulty; and by executing a few of the moſt active of the inſurgents, and pardoning all the reſt, he reſtored the tranquillity of the country [75].

War between the Romans and the Silures.

It was not long before Oſtorius was called to encounter more determined enemies. Theſe were the Silures [76], a people naturally brave, and ſo fond of liberty, that nothing but force could break them to the yoke. At this time they were rendered more confident and bold in themſelves, and more formidable to their ene-

72 See chap. 3. ſect. 1. 73 Id. ibid.

74 Id. ibid. The Brigantes inhabited Yorkſhire, &c.

75 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32.

76 See chap. 3. ſect. 1. The Silures were the ancient inhabitants of South Wales.

mies,

mies, by the experience and valour of their leader, the renowned Caractacus, who, having loſt the greateſt part of his own dominions, willingly put himſelf at the head of this brave people, to make another effort for the deliverance of his country. This prince had the advantage of the Roman general, in a more perfect knowledge of the ſcene of action; and he availed himſelf of this advantage, by transferring the war into the country of the Ordovices[77], and by chuſing a place for the field of battle, which was every way favourable to his own army, and incommodious to his enemies. "It "was on the ridge of an exceeding ſteep moun- "tain; and where the ſides of it were inclining "and acceſſible, he reared walls of ſtone for a "rampart. At the foot of the mountain flowed "a river dangerous to be forded, and a hoſt of "men guarded his entrenchments[78]. There is a hill in Shropſhire, near the confluence of the Coln and Teme, called Caer-Caradoc, from Caradoc, the Britiſh name of Caractacus, which exactly anſwers this deſcription of Tacitus, and where the veſtiges of all theſe ramparts and entrenchments are ſtill viſible[79]. At this place the armies of the Romans and Britons met. As ſoon as Caractacus beheld the enemy approaching, he drew up his troops in order of battle, and flew through the whole army, crying with a loud and animating voice, "That from this day and A. D. 51.

77 See chap. 3. ſect. 1. The Ordovices inhabited North Wales.
78 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33. 79 Camd. Brit. p. 647.

A. D. 51. "this battle, they muſt date their liberty reſcued, "or their ſervitude eternally eſtabliſhed. He "invoked the ſhades of their heroic anceſtors, "who had expelled Cæſar the dictator; thoſe "brave men, by whoſe valour they ſtill enjoyed "freedom from tribute and Roman taxes, and "their wives and children from proſtitution." The chieftains of the ſeveral tribes ſeconded the ardour of their general, and endeavoured to inſpire the hearts of their followers with reſolution. The whole army, fired by the actions and ſpeeches of their leaders, took a ſolemn oath, to conquer or to die, and then prepared for the charge, with the moſt terrible and tremendous ſhouts [80].

Battle between the Romans and the Silures.

The Roman general, obſerving the deepneſs of the river, the ſteepneſs of the mountain, the ſtrength of the ramparts, and the loud alacrity of the enemy, was a little diſmayed at ſuch a ſucceſſion of dangers. But his officers and ſoldiers diſcovering much ardour and impatience to be engaged, he led them to the charge. They paſſed the river without much difficulty, but in aſcending the hill they ſuſtained great loſs from ſhowers of darts. To guard againſt theſe, they formed the teſtudo, or military ſhell, by holding their ſhields, joined cloſe together, over their heads, and under this ſhelter they approached the rampart; which had appeared more formidable at a diſtance than it was in

[80] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.

reality.

reality. For being made only of looſe ſtones, it was eaſily demoliſhed, and the Romans breaking in, engaged hand to hand. The Britons, not able to ſuſtain the ſhock, retired ſlowly towards the ridge of the mountain, and were cloſely followed by the Romans. There again the battle was renewed with great fury, but on very unequal terms. For the bows and arrows of the Britons, who had no defenſive armour, were not a match in cloſe fight, to the ſwords and javelins of the legionaries, and the great ſabres and pikes of the auxiliaries. The Britons were therefore ſoon broken and defeated with great ſlaughter. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners on the field, and his brothers ſurrendered ſoon after the battle [81]. A. D. 51.

The unhappy Caractacus made his eſcape from this fatal battle, but it was only to fall into new misfortunes. For having taken ſhelter in the court of Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, that unkind ſtepmother delivered him in chains to the conqueror, and he, with his whole family, were carried priſoners to Rome. This prince had been long renowned over all the Britiſh iſlands, and the neighbouring continent, for the noble ſtand which he had made in defence of his country; his fame had reached Italy and Rome itſelf, and had excited an earneſt deſire in all to behold the hero who for nine years had defied the Roman arms. The emperor too, being A. D. 52. Caractacus carried priſoner to Rome.

[81] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 35.

proud

A. D. 52. proud of ſuch a priſoner, determined to render his entry into Rome as ſolemn and public as poſſible. On the day appointed for that ſolemnity, the people were ſummoned to behold him as an object of admiration; the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms, and the emperor and empreſs were ſeated on two lofty tribunals. The ſervants and followers of the Britiſh king, with the military harneſs, golden chains, and other ſpoils, which he had taken from his neighbours in war, appeared firſt; then followed his brothers, his wife, and his daughter; and Caractacus himſelf cloſed the proceſſion. All the other priſoners were dejected by their misfortunes, but Caractacus appeared undaunted and erect, without betraying one ſuppliant look, or uttering one word that implored mercy. When he came before the imperial throne, he addreſſed Claudius in the following ſenſible and noble ſpeech [82]:

Caractacus's ſpeech to Claudius.

"If my moderation in proſperity, O Claudius! "had been as conſpicuous as my birth and "fortune, I ſhould now have entered this city "as a friend, and not as a priſoner; nor would "you have diſdained the friendſhip of a prince "deſcended from ſuch illuſtrious anceſtors, and "governing ſo many nations. My preſent con-"dition, I own, is to you honourable, to me "humiliating. I was lately poſſeſſed of ſubjects, "horſes, arms, and riches. Can you be ſur-"priſed that I endeavoured to preſerve them?

[82] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

"If

" If you Romans have a deſire to arrive at uni- A. D. 52.
" verſal monarchy, muſt all nations, to gratify
" you, tamely ſubmit to ſervitude? If I had
" ſubmitted without a ſtruggle, how much would
" it have diminiſhed the luſtre of my fall, and
" of your victory? And now, if you reſolve to
" put me to death, my ſtory will ſoon be buried
" in oblivion; but if you think proper to pre-
" ſerve my life, I ſhall remain a laſting monu-
" ment of your clemency." It is greatly to the honour of Claudius, that he was ſo much charmed with the boldneſs of his illuſtrious priſoner, that he pardoned him and his whole family, and commanded their chains to be immediately taken off[83].

Rejoicings at Rome for the victory over the Silures.

The late victory over the Silures, and the captivity of Caractacus, cauſed no little joy at Rome. The ſenate being aſſembled on the occaſion, many pompous ſpeeches were pronounced. Some of the ſenators declared, " That the taking
" of Caractacus was an event no leſs glorious
" than thoſe of old, when Siphax was by Pub-
" lius Scipio, Perſes by Lucius Paulus, or any
" other conquered kings were, by any of our
" greateſt captains, preſented in chains to the
" Roman people." In ſo important a light did a victory over this brave prince, and his hardy Britons, appear to the conquerors of the world! The ſenate, as a farther proof of their ſatisfaction, decreed the triumphal ornaments to Oſtorius[84].

[83] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 37.

[84] Id. ibid. c. 38.

Thus

A. D. 52.

Oſtorius unfortunate.

Thus far Oſtorius had been ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes in Britain, but the concluding period of his command and life was not ſo proſperous. Though the Silures had ſuſtained a grievous loſs in the late battle, yet their ſpirits were ſtill unbroken, and their hearts more inflamed than ever with reſentment, and the deſire of revenge. They made a ſudden attack upon the camp-marſhal and legionary cohorts, who were building forts in their country, killed the marſhal himſelf, eight centurions, and a great number of their braveſt men; and would have obtained a more complete victory, if ſuccours had not arrived very opportunely from the neighbouring garriſons. Soon after this, they defeated the Roman foragers, the troops that guarded them, and others which were ſent to their relief. This obliged the general to draw out the legions, and march to the aſſiſtance of the fugitives; which brought on a general engagement, in which the Britons were at length forced to give way; but they retired with little loſs, under the favour of approaching night. In a word, the Silures being ſtill more exaſperated by an angry expreſſion, which it was reported had fallen from Oſtorius, "That their name was to be utterly extinguiſhed, "like that of the Sugambrians, who were all "either killed or tranſplanted into Gaul;" they gave him and his army no reſt, but haraſſed him day and night with ſkirmiſhes, ambuſhes, and ſurpriſes. In one of theſe, they carried off two cohorts of auxiliaries, who were plundering the country;

country; and by dividing the captives and ſpoils among the neighbouring nations, were endeavouring to excite a general revolt; when Oſtorius died of vexation and a broken heart, to the inexpreſſible joy of his enemies [85]. A. D. 52.

A. D. 53. Aulus Didius, governor of Britain continues the war with the Silures.

As ſoon as the emperor received the news of the death of his lieutenant in Britain, he immediately appointed Aulus Didius to be his ſucceſſor; being ſenſible of the impropriety of leaving that province, any long time, without a chief governor, in its preſent unſettled ſtate. But though Didius made all poſſible haſte to come over and take poſſeſſion of his government, he found things in very great confuſion at his arrival. The Silures had defeated the legion commanded by Manlius Valens, and were making incurſions on all hands into the territories of the Romans, and of their allies. But Didius ſoon gave a check to theſe incurſions. The courage and animoſity of the Silures rendered them very formidable enemies, but they were now become more formidable by the acceſſion of a new ally and leader. This was Venuſius, chieftain of the Huiccii [86], who, after Caractacus, was the moſt famous of all the Britiſh princes of his time for his military talents. He had been a faithful friend and ally of the Romans, but was alienated from them in the following manner. Venuſius had married Cartiſmandua, queen of

[85] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 38, 39.

[86] See chap. 3. ſect. 1. The Huicii inhabited Warwickſhire and Worceſterſhire.

the

A. D. 53. the Brigantes, who was alſo an ally of the Romans. This marriage proved very unhappy to the parties themſelves, to their country, and to the Romans. All theſe misfortunes flowed from the criminal levity of the queen, which excited the jealouſy of her huſband. Theſe family-diſſenſions at length broke out into a civil war, which the Romans for ſome time left them to manage by themſelves, without declaring for either party. But Cartiſmandua having gained ſome advantages, and got the brother and other kindred of Venuſius into her hands, imagined that ſhe was no longer under any neceſſity of paying any regard to appearances, or the opinion of the world. She publicly eſpouſed Vellocatus, her armour-bearer and gallant, and declared him king. This ſcandalous action gave great offence to her ſubjects the Brigantes, who ſo generally revolted, that the queen was in great danger of falling into the hands of her enraged huſband. In this extremity, ſhe implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans, with whom ſhe had much merit, for betraying Caractacus; and they ſent ſome troops to her relief. This naturally provoked Venuſius to abandon their intereſt, and put himſelf at the head of thoſe Britons, who appeared in defence of their country. Didius, who was now become unwieldy through age, managed this war between the Romans and Cartiſmandua on one ſide, and the Britons and Venuſius on the other, by his lieutenants. It continued for a conſiderable time with various ſucceſs; but at

at length Cartiſmandua found herſelf obliged to leave her kingdom in the poſſeſſion of her injured huſband [87]. A. D. 53.

While theſe things were doing in Britain, the emperor Claudius died, and was ſucceeded by Nero. During the three firſt years of his reign, Aulus Didius ſtill continued proprætor in this iſland; but contented himſelf with reſtraining the incurſions of the enemy, without attempting to extend his conqueſts. Nero, who was a moſt abominable and capricious tyrant, entertained thoughts of withdrawing the Roman forces altogether out of Britain, where they had lately been ſo much haraſſed. But he was reſtrained from executing this deſign, by the fear of being thought to detract from the glory of his father Claudius, for whoſe memory he pretended to have a very high regard [88]. A. D. 54. Nero.

Aulus Didius was ſucceeded in the government of the Roman province in Britain by Veranius, a man who had been much eſteemed for virtue and ſeverity of manners. He performed nothing very memorable in this iſland; for after having made a few ſlight incurſions into the territories of the Silures, he was carried off by death, in leſs than a year after his arrival. It then appeared, from the ſingular ſtrain of his laſt will, that he had not been ſo free from ambition, vanity, and the love of court-favour, as it had been imagined; A. D. 57. Veranius governor of Britain.

87 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 40. Idem Hiſt. l. 3. c. 45.

88 Sueton. in Ner. c. 18.

A. D. 57. for in that writing, after he had beſtowed many flatteries on the tyrant Nero, he added, "That "if his life had been prolonged for two years, "he would have ſubjected all Britain to his obe- "dience[89]." A vain boaſt, which there is no probability he could have made good!

A. D. 59. Suetonius Paulinus ſubdues Angleſey. Veranius was ſucceeded by Suetonius Paulinus, one of the moſt celebrated generals of theſe times, and the great rival of the renowned Corbulo, in military fame and popularity. He was very deſirous of eclipſing the glory which Corbulo had lately gained by his conqueſts in Armenia, by making greater conqueſts in Britain[90]. In the firſt two years of his government, all his undertakings were crowned with ſucceſs; he ſubdued ſeveral Britiſh tribes, and planted a number of garriſons to keep them in ſubjection.

A. D. 61. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Suetonius, in his third year, engaged in a more important enterpriſe. This was the conqueſt of the iſle of Angleſey, at that time a kind of ſacred place, the reſidence of the archdruid, and the aſylum of all the enemies of the Roman government. Suetonius, having marched his army to the coaſt, tranſported his foot into the iſland, in flat-bottomed boats provided for that purpoſe, and his cavalry partly by fording and partly by ſwimming. At his landing, he found the Britiſh army drawn up in order of battle, and ready to engage. This army made a very ſtrange ap-

[89] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 29. [90] Id. ibid.

pearance:

pearance: for beſides the fighting men, there were many women, clad in funeral apparel, their hair diſheveled, and torches in their hands, running franticly up and down, like furies in their wildeſt tranſports. Beſides theſe, there were great multitudes of druids ſtanding round the army, with their hands lifted up to Heaven, and pouring out the moſt direful imprecations againſt their enemies. Theſe horrid ſpectacles at firſt ſtruck the Roman ſoldiers with conſternation; and for ſome time they ſtood motionleſs as marks to the wounds of the Britons. But being at length roufed from this inglorious terror, by the animating ſpeeches of their general and officers, they advanced to the charge, and ſoon diſperſed the Britiſh army. Suetonius made a cruel uſe of this victory, not only cutting down the ſacred groves, and demoliſhing their altars, but even burning the druids in their own fires[91]. A. D. 61.

Revolt of the Britons.

While Suetonius was thus employed in the iſle of Angleſey, a dreadful ſtorm was brewing againſt him on the continent of Britain. Many cauſes concurred to raiſe this ſtorm, and to render it violent and univerſal. Thoſe Britons who had been conſtrained to ſubmit to the Roman power, ſtill retained a fond remembrance of their former freedom, and were very impatient under the yoke, which became every day more heavy and

[91] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 30. Vita Agric. c. 14.

A. D. 61. galling, through the inſolence, luſt, and avarice of the Roman officers and ſoldiers. Some of the Britiſh ſtates had alſo received particular affronts and injuries, which blew up their ſecret diſcontents into an open flame. The Trinobantes were cruelly oppreſſed by the veterans ſettled amongſt them in the colony of Camalodunum, who, not contented with turning them out of their houſes, and depriving them of their native lands, inſulted them with the opprobrious name of ſlaves. Their neighbours, the Iceni, groaned under preſſures and indignities ſtill more intolerable. Praſutagus, the late king of that nation, a prince long renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had, by his laſt will, left the emperor his joint-heir with his own two daughters, in hopes of procuring his protection to his kingdom and family by ſo great an obligation. But this meaſure produced an effect very different from what was expected, and involved his ſubjects and family in the moſt deplorable calamities. For he was no ſooner dead, than his dominions, his houſes, and all his poſſeſſions were ſeized and plundered by the Roman officers and ſoldiers: his queen, remonſtrating againſt this injuſtice, was, without regard to her ſex or quality, beaten with ſtripes; her virgin daughters violated, and the other relations of the late king were taken and kept as ſlaves. Nor were the royal family the only ſufferers on this occaſion. The whole country was ſpoiled and plundered, and

and all the chiefs of the Iceni were deprived of their poſſeſſions [92]. So inſupportable was the Roman government now become, under a ſucceſſion of tyrants! A. D. 61.

The diſtance of Suetonius and his army gave the wretched Britons an opportunity of conſulting together, and inſpiring each other with the thoughts of vengeance. "Our patience (ſaid "they) ſerves only to draw upon us greater in- "juries. Formerly we were ſubject only to one "king, now we are enſlaved to two tyrants. "The governor lords it over our perſons, the "procurator over our fortunes. The union and "diſcord of theſe two oppreſſors are to us equally "deſtructive, the one by his blood-thirſty ſol- "diers, the other by his greedy officers; and "every thing falls a prey either to their luſt or "avarice." The Britons deſtroy Camalodunum.

At length the Iceni having inflamed one another with the moſt furious reſentment, and being joined by the Trinobantes and ſome others, flew to arms, and poured like an irreſiſtible torrent on the Roman colony at Camalodunum. The veterans of this colony, not apprehending ſuch an aſſault, were ill provided for reſiſtance. The place was not fortified, the number of men within it capable of bearing arms was but ſmall, and Catus Decianus, procurator of the province, ſent no more than two hundred men to their aſſiſtance. The enraged Britons broke in at the very

[92] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

A. D. 61. firſt aſſault, put all to the ſword who fell into their hands, and laid every thing in aſhes. The ſoldiers of the garriſon retired into the temple of Claudius; a fabric of great beauty and ſtrength, which was alſo taken by ſtorm, after a ſiege of two days [93]. Thus was the firſt Roman colony in Britain utterly deſtroyed, after it had ſubſiſted only a few years, and the whole province was in the greateſt danger of being loſt.

The ninth legion defeated.

When Suetonius ſet out on his expedition into the iſle of Angleſey, he left Petilius Cerialis with the ninth legion, of which he was commander, to defend the province. As this officer was marching with his troops to the relief of Camalodunum, he was met by the victorious Britons in their return from the deſtruction of that place, and totally defeated. In this action the whole infantry of the ninth legion were cut in pieces, and Cerialis and his cavalry made their eſcape with great difficulty to their camp. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, whoſe inſatiable avarice had been one great cauſe of the revolt, ſeeing all things falling into confuſion, and juſtly dreading the moſt cruel puniſhments if he fell into the hands of the enemy, made his eſcape into Gaul [94].

Verulamium and London taken by the Britons.

As ſoon as Suetonius (who was building forts in Angleſey for the ſecurity of his conqueſt) received the news of all theſe diſaſters, he left that

[93] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32. Vita Agric. c. 15.
[94] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32.

iſland,

iſland, and marching his army with great boldneſs and expedition through ſome part of the revolted country, arrived ſafe in London. This city, though not honoured with the title of a colony, was already become large, populous, and wealthy, abounding in all kinds of proviſions. At firſt, Suetonius had ſome thoughts of ſtaying in this place with his army, and defending it againſt all the efforts of the enemy. But afterwards, conſidering that it would be very imprudent to coop himſelf up in a place ſo ill fortified, he determined rather to take the field. The inhabitants of London endeavoured, by their tears, their lamentations, and moſt earneſt entreaties, to perſuade him to ſtay for their protection. But he was inflexible, and reſolving rather to hazard the loſs of one city, than of the whole province, he marched away with his army, and ſuch of the inhabitants as thought proper to follow him; leaving behind all thoſe who were unable, or unwilling to forſake the place [95]. A.D. 61.

Soon after Suetonius had left London, it was entered by a great army of Britons under Boadicia, queen of the Iceni, who put all whom they found in it to the ſword. From thence they marched to Verulamium, now St. Alban's (which was a free city and a very populous place), where they exerciſed the ſame unrelenting cruelties. So violent was the fury of the enraged Britons on this occaſion, that they reſerved no priſoners

[95] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

A. D. 61. either to ſell or exchange, but put all to death by killing, gibbeting, burning, and crucifying, without diſtinction of age or ſex. So great was the carnage, that it is computed no fewer than ſeventy thouſand Romans and their confederates periſhed at Camalodunum, London, Verulamium, and other places [96].

Great army of the Britons under Boadicia.

The Britiſh army, having received reinforcements from many different nations, who were encouraged to take up arms by the ſucceſs of the firſt inſurgents, was now become exceeding numerous, amounting to no fewer than 230,000 men [97]. This prodigious army, compoſed of ſo many fierce and warlike nations, was commanded in chief by the renowned Boadicia, whoſe injuries had excited, and whoſe reſentments had inflamed this great revolt; and who, by her heroic ſpirit, was entitled to that diſtinction. The Britons, fluſhed with their late ſucceſſes, and exulting in their numbers, were ſo confident of victory, that they brought their wives to the field in waggons, to be ſpectators of the deſtruction of their enemies. The Roman army was indeed very inconſiderable in point of numbers, conſiſting only of the fourteenth legion, the vexillation of the twentieth, and ſome auxiliaries, making about ten thouſand men; but in all other reſpects it was very formidable, being compoſed of the braveſt, beſt armed, and beſt

96 Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.
97 Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

diſci-

diſciplined troops in the world, under the command of a general of great courage and long experience. Suetonius diſcovered great prudence in the choice of his ground. The rear was ſecured by an impenetrable wood, and the ground before him ſtretched out into a hollow and narrow vale, with very ſteep ſides; ſo that he was acceſſible only in front[98]. Here he drew up his army in order of battle, placing the legionaries in the center, ſupported by the light-armed foot, with his cavalry in the two wings; and in this poſture waited for the enemy. A. D. 61.

When the Britons drew near their enemies, and were ready to engage, Boadicia mounted on a lofty chariot, dreſſed in royal robes, a ſpear in her hand, and her two unhappy daughters ſeated at her feet, drove through the whole army, and addreſſing herſelf to each nation, conjured them to fight bravely, and take vengeance on the Romans, for the loſs of their own liberties, the ſtripes inflicted on her perſon, and the violated honour of her virgin daughters. She encouraged them to hope that Heaven would eſpouſe their cauſe againſt their abandoned enemies; put them in mind of their late victory over the ninth legion; deſired them to take courage from their own prodigious ſtrength and numbers, whoſe very ſhouts were ſufficient to confound ſo weak an enemy; and concluded with declaring, "That ſhe, though a woman, was fully deter- Speeches of Boadicia and Suetonius.

[98] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 34. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

A. D. 61. "mined to conquer or to die; the men, if they "pleaſed, might live and be ſlaves." On the other hand, the Roman general, being ſenſible that every thing depended on the event of this battle, encouraged his ſoldiers to deſpiſe the clamour and multitude of their enemies, who were ill armed, and worſe diſciplined, and would betake themſelves to flight, as ſoon as they felt the edge of their ſwords. He directed them to keep firm in their ranks, and after they had diſcharged their javelins, to ruſh upon the enemy ſword in hand [99].

Battle between the Romans and Britons.

The ſignal of battle being given, the Britons advanced to the charge with dreadful ſhouts, and poured a ſhower of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The Romans ſtood firm, ſheltering themſelves with their ſhields and the narrowneſs of the place, until the Britons had exhauſted all their darts, and advanced within reach of their javelins, which they diſcharged with great force. The legion ſupported by the auxiliaries then ruſhed out upon the Britons with the navels of their ſhields and ſwords, and the cavalry with their pikes, with ſuch impetuoſity and weight as bore down all reſiſtance. The diſorder and confuſion among the unhappy Britons ſoon became univerſal and irrecoverable, and being entangled in their flight by their own waggons, which they had placed in a line in the rear with their wives, they were ſlaughtered in great multitudes. Such

[99] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 35, 36. Xiphilin, ex Dione in Neron.

was

was the fury of the Roman ſoldiers, that they killed all who came in their way, men, women, and even beaſts, without diſtinction; and the carnage was ſo great, that ſome authors have affirmed that no fewer than eighty thouſand of the Britons were killed in the battle and purſuit. The Romans had about four hundred men killed, and not many more wounded [100]. The wretched Boadicia, unable to ſurvive the calamities of that day, put an end to her life and miſeries by poiſon. A. D. 61.

Suetonius, a little before this battle, had ſent orders to Pœnius Poſthumus, camp-marſhal of the ſecond legion, to join him with the troops under his command. But that officer, afraid perhaps of being intercepted by the Britons on his march, declined obeying theſe orders, and continued in his camp. When he heard of the glorious victory which Suetonius and his little army had obtained, dreading the puniſhment of diſobedience, and diſtracted at the thoughts of having deprived himſelf and his troops of their ſhare of the honour of this victory, he ran himſelf through with his ſword [101]. Pœnius Poſthumus kills himſelf.

If Suetonius had been poſſeſſed of the happy art of gaining the affections of thoſe by mildneſs whom he had ſubdued by force, he would have had the honour of putting a final period to this great revolt, and of reducing a great part of South Britain, under the peaceable obedience of Suetonius recalled.

[100] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 37.

[101] Id. ibid.

the

A. D. 61. the Romans. But that general, being naturally ſevere, and alſo greatly irritated by the cruelties which had been perpetrated by the Britons in the beginning of their revolt, purſued that wretched people (who at the ſame time ſuffered all the horrors of a cruel famine) with unrelenting rigour. This obliged them, in their own defence, to keep the field, and continue in a hoſtile poſture and diſpoſition. They were encouraged in this diſpoſition, by a miſunderſtanding which ſubſiſted between the governor and Julius Claſſicianus, the new procurator, who gave out every where, "that a new governor was to be expected, who being free from the anger of an enemy, and the arrogance of a conqueror, would treat all who ſubmitted with tenderneſs." He alſo wrote to court, "that unleſs a ſucceſſor was ſent to Suetonius, the war would prove endleſs." When Nero received theſe letters he diſpatched Polycletus, one of his favourite freedmen, with a pompous retinue into Britain, to examine into the ſtate of affairs, and to endeavour to reconcile the governor and procurator. Polycletus having made a report rather favourable to Suetonius, he was continued in his government. But ſoon after, upon the ſlight misfortune of loſing a few gallies, he was finally recalled, about the end of this very buſy year, or the beginning of the next [102].

[102] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 35. 39.

The

The brave and active Suetonius was ſucceeded in the government of the Roman province, and the command of the Roman army in Britain, by Petronius Turpilianus, who had been conſul the preceding year. Under this governor, the war between the Romans and Britons ſeems to have languiſhed and died away, by a mutual abſtinence from hoſtilities, rather than to have been terminated by any formal peace. By this inaction of Turpilianus, which the great hiſtorian of theſe times terms inglorious, Britain happily enjoyed a profound tranquillity during his adminiſtration, which continued about three years [103]. A. D. 62. Turpilianus governor of Britain.

Turpilianus was ſucceeded by Trebellius Maximus, who was ſtill more indolent and unwarlike than his predeceſſor. This governor endeavoured to preſerve the peace of his province by treating the native Britons with the greateſt mildneſs and indulgence, with which they were ſo well pleaſed, that they gave him no diſturbance. But he found it not ſo eaſy to govern his own army. The legions which ſerved in Britain had long been famous for their modeſt and orderly behaviour. This was partly owing to their ſituation in an iſland at a diſtance from the cabals of the other legions, and partly to their being kept conſtantly employed [104]. But the late inaction of theſe legions had produced a very fatal change in their diſpoſition and manners, A. D. 65. Trebellius Maximus.

[103] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 35, 39. Vita Agric. c. 16.
[104] Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 9.

and

A. D. 65. and they were now become unruly and mutinous. This diſpoſition was much inflamed by Roſcius Cælius, commander of the twentieth legion, who had long hated the governor, and charged him with defrauding and plundering the army. The diſaffection of the ſoldiers at length became ſo violent, that Trebellius abandoned the iſland, and fled to Vitellius, who had lately been declared emperor. After the departure of Trebellius, Britain was for ſome time governed by the commanders of the legions, amongſt whom Cælius, by his ſuperior boldneſs, bore the chief ſway [105].

A. D. 69. Vectius Bolanus. Vitellius ſent Vectius Bolanus into Britain to ſucceed Trebellius, who had returned and reſumed his command there for a little time, but without ſuitable authority. Bolanus was no leſs indolent, but more innocent than his predeceſſor; and though he could not command the reſpect of the ſoldiers by his ſpirit, he gained their affections by his lenity. When Veſpaſian was declared emperor by his army, Vitellius ſent to Bolanus for ſuccours out of Britain; but that general, who was really wavering between the two competitors, excuſed himſelf, by alleging the unſettled ſtate of his province. Bolanus was recalled from the government of Britain ſoon after the death of Vitellius, and the acceſſion of Veſpaſian [106].

[105] Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 60.
[106] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 16. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 97.

As

As ſoon as Veſpaſian was peaceably ſeated in the imperial throne, the government of the empire became every where more vigorous, particularly in Britain, where brave and active generals were employed. Petilius Cerialis was the firſt Roman governor of Britain, in the reign of this emperor, who, immediately after his arrival, made war upon the Brigantes, the moſt numerous and powerful nation of the ancient Britons[107]. In this war, which was long and bloody, Cerialis was greatly aſſiſted by the renowned Agricola, who at that time commanded the twentieth legion, whoſe conduct and courage in the execution of the moſt dangerous enterpriſes, could only be equalled by his modeſty, in aſcribing the honour of them to his general. The Brigantes, animated and conducted by their warlike king Venuſius, made a brave defence, and ſeveral battles were fought, of which ſome were very bloody; but before Cerialis was recalled, he had quite reduced the greateſt part of their country, and ravaged the reſt[108]. A. D. 70. Petilius Cerialis.

Petilius Cerialis was ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Julius Frontinus, who was in no reſpect inferior to his predeceſſor, and met with enemies no leſs formidable than the Brigantes. Theſe were the Silures, who, of all the Britiſh nations, made the longeſt and moſt obſtinate defence againſt the Romans. But this A D 75. Julius Frontinus.

107 See chap. 3. ſect. 1. ¶ 21.
108 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 8 & 17.

A. D. 75. brave people, notwithſtanding all their valour, their ardent love of liberty, and the difficult ſituation of their country, were now at laſt conſtrained to yield to the ſuperior power and fortune of Rome [109].

A. D. 78. Julius Agricola governor of Britain. Frontinus was ſucceeded by Cnæus Julius Agricola, the greateſt, beſt, and moſt famous of all the Roman governors of Britain; and peculiarly happy in this, that his exploits in this iſland have been recorded at full length, and ſet in the faireſt light, by one of the moſt eloquent hiſtorians of antiquity [110]. Agricola entered upon his government with great advantages and expectations, being then in the prime of life, adorned with the higheſt honours of the ſtate, learned, eloquent, brave, and virtuous, equally admired and beloved by the army which he was to command, and well acquainted with the country which he was to govern. For he had learnt the firſt rudiments of war in the Roman army in Britain, under the brave Suetonius in the time of the great revolt, and ſerved ſeveral years afterwards in the ſame army with great honour, as commander of the twentieth legion. He improved all theſe advantages to the utmoſt, and exceeded the higheſt expectations which had been formed of him.

Agricola's firſt campaign. The ſummer was far advanced when Agricola arrived in Britain, and the army was already ſeparated and gone into quarters, expecting no

[109] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 8. c. 17. [110] Tacitus.

further

further action that campaign. But being ſenſible A. D. 78.
that the ſucceſs of a general depends very much on the boldneſs of his firſt meaſures, he determined immediately to take the field, in order to chaſtiſe the Ordovici, who had cut in pieces almoſt a whole wing of horſe quartered on their confines; and to give an early check to a general ſpirit of diſaffection which prevailed in ſeveral Britiſh ſtates. Having therefore drawn together a choice body of legionaries, with a few auxiliaries, he marched into the country of the Ordovici, and took a very ſevere vengeance upon them, that he might thereby deter others from the like attempts. Not even content with this, he reſolved to finiſh and ſecure the conqueſt of the Iſle of Angleſey, which Suetonius had been obliged to leave imperfect. The chief difficulty of this enterpriſe lay in tranſporting his men into the iſland without ſhips, which he had not leiſure to provide. But his reſolution and capacity ſurmounted this difficulty. He ſelected from amongſt the auxiliaries a choice body of excellent ſwimmers, and commanded them to paſs the narroweſt part of the channel with their horſes and arms, but without any baggage. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs and boldneſs of the attack, ſurrendered themſelves and their iſland without reſiſtance. Theſe two exploits, executed with ſo much facility and expedition, at a ſeaſon which other governors had been accuſtomed to ſpend in idle parade and

A. D. 78. ceremony, excited the admiration of both Romans and Britons [111].

Civil administration of Agricola during the winter.

If the conduct of Agricola in this firſt campaign had got him the reputation of a great commander, his behaviour during the ſucceeding winter gained him the ſtill more amiable character of a gracious, wiſe, and equitable magiſtrate; who was determined to redreſs all grievances, and to do impartial juſtice to all under his government. He introduced a thorough reformation into his own houſehold, ſuffering none of his domeſtics to be guilty of the leaſt oppreſſion. In beſtowing employments in the ſtate, and preferments in the army, he regarded only merit, known to himſelf, eſteeming it better to employ ſuch as would not tranſgreſs, than to puniſh them for tranſgreſſing. The complaints of the provincials he heard with the greateſt patience, and redreſſed with the greateſt readineſs. He delivered them from the extortions of publicans and the oppreſſions of monopoliſts; and though he did not remit their tribute, he made the payment of it as eaſy and commodious as poſſible. In a word, by his wiſe and mild adminiſtration, the Britons began to be reconciled to the Roman government, and to reliſh the ſweets of peace, which before had been as unſafe and oppreſſive as even war itſelf [112].

[111] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 18. [112] Id. ibid. c. 19.

As

A. D. 79. Agricola's ſecond campaign.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon for action returned, Agricola drew his army together and took the field, directing his march northward, into thoſe parts of the iſland which had not yet ſubmitted to the Roman arms. As the country was unknown to the Romans, and much of it covered with woods, he was at great pains to guard againſt ſurpriſes, commending ſuch of the ſoldiers as kept their ranks, and checking ſuch as ſtraggled. He did not truſt the choice of the ground for encamping to any of his officers, but pitched upon it himſelf, and was always amongſt the foremoſt in exploring the rivers, marſhes, and woods through which he was to march. To ſuch of the natives as made reſiſtance he gave no reſt, diſtreſſing them with inceſſant incurſions and ravages; but to thoſe who yielded, he ſhewed the greateſt kindneſs and humanity. In this manner, partly by the terror of his arms, and partly by the fame of his clemency, he brought ſeveral Britiſh nations to ſubmit to the authority of the Romans in the courſe of this campaign. Theſe nations are not named by Tacitus, but they were moſt probably the remainder of the Brigantes, who had not been ſubdued by Cerialis, the Ottodini, the Gadeni, and perhaps the Selgovæ[113]. To ſecure theſe conqueſts, he built a conſiderable number of fortreſſes in very well choſen ſituations, from ſea to ſea (as it is thought), in

[113] See chap. 3. ſect. 1. ¶ 22, &c. &c.

A. D. 79. or near that tract where Hadrian's rampart and Severus's wall were afterwards erected [114].

Agricola's second winter.

Agricola ſpent the ſucceeding winter in ſtill further civilizing the Britons, and teaching them the moſt neceſſary and uſeful arts. In order to this, he perſuaded them to live in a more ſocial and comfortable manner, to build commodious and contiguous houſes, and to adorn their towns with halls and temples. On ſuch as yielded to theſe perſuaſions, and were active in theſe uſeful and ornamental works, he beſtowed the higheſt commendations; thereby raiſing amongſt them a noble ſpirit of emulation. He was at great pains to have the ſons of the Britiſh chieftains inſtructed in the language, learning, and eloquence of the Romans; for which, he ſaid, they had a genius ſuperior to the youth of Gaul. By theſe and the like means, this great man made an amazing change in the face of the country, and the manners of its inhabitants, in a very little time [115]. But unhappily, together with a taſte for the Roman arts, the Britiſh youth contracted alſo a reliſh for the Roman luxuries and vices.

A. D. 80. Agricola's third campaign.

In his third campaign, Agricola led his army ſtill further north, and entered Caledonia, a country hitherto unknown to the Romans. Marching from ſouth-weſt towards the north-

[114] See Append. No. 9. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 20.

[115] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

eaſt,

eaſt, he traverſed the territories of ſeveral Britiſh tribes, and penetrated to the river Tay, without meeting with any enemy in the field. This was not owing to the cowardice of theſe Caledonians, nor to their willingneſs to ſubmit to the Roman yoke, but to their policy; hoping to recover without difficulty in the winter, after the retreat of their enemies, what they had loſt in the ſummer. But in theſe hopes they were diſappointed by the wiſdom of Agricola, who ſpent the remainder of this ſeaſon, in building forts in the moſt convenient ſituations for keeping poſſeſſion of the country. As ſoon as theſe forts were finiſhed and ſtored with proviſions, he put his army into them for their winter quarters, that his troops might be every where at hand to check the attempts of the natives to ſhake off the yoke. Many ſuch attempts they made, but to no purpoſe. For theſe fortreſſes were ſo well ſituated, conſtructed, and defended, that not ſo much as one of them was either taken by force, or abandoned in deſpair [116]. We are not directly informed by his hiſtorian, whether Agricola ſpent this winter in Caledonia, or in the more ſouthern parts of Britain. But wherever he reſided, it was no doubt employed, like his former winters, in the beneficent works of peace. A. D. 80.

The fourth campaign of Agricola was alſo bloodleſs, and he ſpent this whole year in ſecuring the extenſive conqueſts which he had already A. D. 81. Agricola's fourth campaign.

[116] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 22.

A. D. 81. ready made. In order to this, he built a line of forts quite croſs the narrow neck of land which ſeparates the firths of Forth and Clyde, exactly in the tract where the rampart of Antoninus Pius was afterwards erected [117]. Nature ſeems to have pointed out this place as the moſt proper boundary to the Roman empire in Britain. For by this chain of forts, all to the ſouthward was ſecured to the Romans, and the unconquered Britons were removed, as it were, into another iſland [118].

A. D. 82. Agricola's fifth campaign. But Agricola did not here ſet bounds to his own ambition and curioſity. For, in his fifth year, he tranſported his army over the firth of Clyde, into the north-weſt parts of Caledonia, himſelf leading the van, and being in the firſt ſhip that landed. Here he diſcovered and had ſome ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes with ſeveral Britiſh tribes, hitherto quite unknown to the Romans. Theſe were probably the Epedii, Cerones, and Carnonacæ, the original inhabitants of Cantyre, Argyleſhire, Lorn, and Lochaber [119]. From theſe coaſts he had a diſtinct view of Ireland, and began to entertain thoughts of making a deſcent upon that iſland, at a convenient opportunity. He was encouraged in this deſign, by an Iriſh chieftain, at that time a refugee in his army; who gave him a very inviting deſcription of the country, and aſſured him that it might

[117] See Append. No. 9. [118] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 23.
[119] Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 366, 367, 369.

be

be conquered and kept by a ſingle legion and a few auxiliaries. With a view to facilitate this enterprize at a proper ſeaſon, he left ſome forces in theſe parts, and having reconducted the reſt of his army to the ſouth ſide of the firth of Clyde, he put them into winter-quarters, in the ſeveral forts which he had built in the two preceding years [120]. A. D. 82.

In his ſixth year, Agricola turned his eyes towards the north-eaſt parts of Britain, which lay beyond the firth of Forth; and having paſſed that river, perhaps ſomewhere near Stirling, he marched along the north banks of it, and the coaſt of Fife. In this march he was attended by his fleet, which having ſailed early in the ſpring from Rutupæ (Richborough near Sandwich), attended the army in all its motions, and ſupported it in all its operations. The fleet kept ſo near the ſhore, that the marines frequently landed and encamped with the land forces; each of theſe corps entertaining the other with ſurpriſing tales of the wonders which they had ſeen, and the exploits which they had performed in theſe unknown ſeas and regions. The ſight of the fleet was very alarming to the Caledonians; as they now found that the encircling ocean would be no longer any ſecurity to them againſt theſe bold invaders. They were not however diſmayed; but being very numerous, they determined to take up arms, and to defend their country to the A. D. 85. Agricola's ſixth campaign.

120 Tacit, vita Agric. c. 24.

A. D. 83. laſt extremity. In conſequence of this reſolution, they advanced with great boldneſs, attacked the Roman forts and parties, and ſpread a general conſternation through the whole army. Some of his officers endeavoured to perſuade Agricola to retire with his army to the ſouth ſide of the firth of Forth, to prevent the diſgrace of being defeated, and driven back by force. But that brave general, not ſo eaſily intimidated, determined to perſevere in his enterpriſe; and having received intelligence, that the enemy, confiding in their ſuperior numbers, and knowledge of the country, deſigned to aſſault him on all ſides, and in diſtinct bands; to prevent his being ſurrounded, he divided his army into three ſeparate bodies. As ſoon as the Caledonians were informed of this, they ſuddenly united their whole forces, reſolving to fall upon each of theſe bodies one after another. The ninth legion formed one of theſe diviſions. This legion, which had loſt all its infantry in the great revolt under Boadicia, had been recruited with two thouſand legionary ſoldiers, and eight cohorts of auxiliaries [121]. But it was ſtill by far the weakeſt in the Roman army; and therefore they begun the execution of their deſign by attacking the camp of this legion. This attack, which was in the night-time, and wholly unexpected, had like to have been crowned with ſucceſs. The centinels and guards were killed,

[121] See Append. No. 8.

part

part of the enemy had entered the camp, where all was in confuſion, and the whole legion in the greateſt danger of being cut in pieces. But they were reſcued from deſtruction by their brave and vigilant general, who, having received intelligence from his ſpies, of the enemy's march, purſued their track, and fell upon their rear with his light-armed foot and cavalry. The battle now raged with redoubled fury, and the Caledonians were ſo hard preſſed both in front and rear, that they were obliged to retire with precipitation into the neighbouring woods and marſhes, whoſe vicinity preſerved them from a total rout [122]. A. D. 81.

This ſucceſs revived the ſpirits of the Roman ſoldiers, and even thoſe among them who had been moſt diffident and cautious, became eager for the proſecution of the war. "No country," cried they, "can reſiſt the valour of the Ro-"mans. Let us penetrate into the deepeſt re-"ceſſes of Caledonia, and, by a ſucceſſion of "victories, puſh our conqueſts to the utmoſt "bounds of Britain." On the other hand, the Caledonians were rather irritated than diſpirited by their late miſcarriage, which they aſcribed, not to the ſuperior bravery of their enemies, but to ſome accidents, and the prodigious addreſs and vigilance of the Roman general. In a word, both ſides retired into quarters full of animoſity, and ſpent the winter in preparing for a The Caledonians make preparations in the winter.

[122] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 25, 26.

A. D. 83. more vigorous and bloody campaign than the former [123].

A. D. 84 Agricola's seventh campaign.

Agricola began his ſeventh and laſt campaign in Britain, by ſending his fleet to make deſcents on different parts of the coaſts of Caledonia; thereby to ſpread a general alarm, and diſtract the attention of the enemy. Soon after he drew his army together, and having reinforced it with ſome bodies of provincial Britons, on whoſe long-tried fidelity he could rely, he took the field, and directed his march northward. When he arrived at the Grampian hills, he there found the enemy encamped, and ready to diſpute his farther progreſs.

Preparations of the Caledonians.

The Caledonians were at great pains, during the winter, to prepare for this campaign, that they might make one great effort for the preſervation of their country. With this view, they held a general aſſembly of their ſeveral ſtates, in which they entered into a ſtrict alliance againſt the common enemy, and confirmed it by ſolemn ſacrifices: they enliſted and trained all their young men who were capable of bearing arms; and even many of their aged warriors, who had laid aſide their ſwords, reſumed them on this great occaſion. That they might act with all their united force, they choſe Galgacus, one of the greateſt and braveſt of their chieftains, to command all the troops of the confederacy. At

[123] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 27.

the approach of ſummer, they removed their wives and children from the open country into woods and faſtneſſes; and having collected the troops of their ſeveral communities, formed an army of about 30,000 men, with which they encamped on the ſkirts of the Grampian hills; moſt probably at a place which is now called Fortingall, about ſixteen miles from Dunkell [124]. A. D. 84.

No ſooner did the Roman army approach the Caledonians, than Galgacus drew up his troops in order of battle; and riding in his chariot along the ranks, he endeavoured to rouſe and inflame their courage by animating ſpeeches. He put them in mind, that they were not now to fight only for fame or victory, but for their lives and liberties, their parents, wives, and children, and every thing that was dear. He painted the horrors of ſlavery, the tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion of the Romans, in the moſt frightful colours; and aſſured them that there was no way of eſcaping all theſe dreadful evils but by victory: that flight was now become as unſafe as it was diſhonourable; their enemies having penetrated into the heart of their country, and even covered their ſeas with their fleets. He concluded by calling upon them to look back upon their anceſtors, who had long maintained the character of the braveſt of all the Britons; and forward to their poſterity, whoſe freedom and happineſs depended on their valour, and the event of that Speech of Galgacus.

124 Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 44. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 29.

day.

A. D. 84. day. Theſe ſpeeches were anſwered by his troops with military ſongs, with loud affrighting ſhouts, and all poſſible expreſſions of alacrity and ardour for the fight [125].

Agricola draws up his army in order of battle.

Agricola being abundantly ſenſible of the great importance of the approaching battle, exerted his utmoſt ſkill and attention in drawing up his army. He placed a ſtrong body of eight thouſand auxiliary foot in the center, and three thouſand horſe on the two wings; extending his line to the ſame length with that of the enemy, to prevent his being flanked; and formed the legions into a ſecond line in the rear, a little without the camp. He made choice of this uncommon diſpoſition, in hopes of gaining the victory by the auxiliaries alone (who were beſt ſuited to encounter ſuch an enemy), without the effuſion of Roman blood: or that if the auxiliaries were defeated, the legions might then advance to the charge freſh and entire. Though he obſerved with pleaſure an extraordinary eagerneſs in his troops for the engagement, yet he thought proper ſtill further to inflame them by a ſpirited and eloquent harangue; after which he commanded the ſignal of battle to be given [126].

Battle between the Romans and Caledonians.

As long as the two armies fought at a little diſtance, and by their miſſive weapons, the Caledonians had the advantage. For dexterouſly warding off the darts of their enemies with their

125 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32, 33.
126 Id. ibid. c. 33, 34, 35.

little

little targets, they poured in upon them a ſhower of their own. Agricola obſerving this, commanded three cohorts of Batavians[127], and two of Tungrians[128], to advance and engage the enemy hand to hand; a way of fighting to which theſe troops had been long accuſtomed. It now appeared, that the long, broad, unwieldy ſwords of the Caledonians were very unfit for a cloſe engagement; and they were forced to give way, rather to the ſuperior arms than to the ſuperior ſtrength and valour of their enemies. The other auxiliaries ſeeing the ſucceſs of the Tungrians and Batavians, imitated their example, and preſſed the Britons ſo hard with the ſpikes of their bucklers, and their ſharp-pointed ſwords, that they threw them into confuſion. This confuſion was very much encreaſed by their own war-chariots. For the horſes taking fright, ſcoured through the field, and overturned every thing that came in their way. A great body of Caledonians, who had been ſtationed near the ſummit of the hill, perceiving all theſe misfortunes, reſolved to make an attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day, and turn the ſcale of victory, by taking a compaſs, and falling upon the rear of the enemy, as they were engaged in the purſuit. But as they ſoftly deſcended the hill, they were diſcovered, attacked, and defeated by four wings of horſe, which Agricola kept about his own perſon to anſwer A. D. 84.

127 The ancient inhabitants of Holland.

128 The ancient inhabitants of the countries of Leige, Colegn, &c.

ſuch

A. D. 84. ſuch emergencies. After this the Caledonians made no regular reſiſtance, but fled in ſtraggling parties towards the neighbouring woods, where they once more faced about, and gave a ſevere check to the moſt forward of their purſuers. The loſs of the Romans by their too great eagerneſs would have been conſiderable, if their general had not come up and rallied them; commanding them to continue the purſuit, in ſtrong and regular bodies. Upon this the Caledonians diſbanded, and fled a thouſand different ways; every one ſhifting for himſelf, without any regard to his companions. In this fatal battle and purſuit, no fewer than ten thouſand of the wretched Britons are ſaid to have been ſlain, while the Romans loſt only three hundred and forty men, and amongſt thoſe only one officer of note, Aulus Atticus, commander of a cohort [129].

Agricola conducts his army into quarters.

The rage and deſpair of the Caledonians after their defeat were inexpreſſible. They ſet fire to their own houſes, and ſome of them even ſlew their wives and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies, and being made ſlaves, which they eſteemed more deplorable than death. On the day after the battle a profound and mournful ſilence reigned over the whole country, and nothing was to be ſeen but clouds of ſmoke aſcending from the burning houſes. The ſcouts reported that they could not meet with one of the inhabitants, nor diſcover any

[129] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36, 37.

traces

traces of the enemy, who were entirely diſperſed and fled to a great diſtance. Agricola, conſidering that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to puſh his conqueſts any further northward, marched his army into the country of the Horeſti (now called Angus), from whom he received hoſtages. Here he gave orders to his fleet to ſail northward, and turning that point, to proceed to their winter ſtation by the weſtern coaſt. Theſe orders were happily executed, and the fleet arrived ſafe at the ſame harbour from whence they had ſailed eaſtward in the ſpring, having coaſted quite around Britain, and diſcovered from their own experience that it was an iſland. His land forces he conducted by ſlow and eaſy marches, through the lately conquered countries, in order to ſtrike further terror into the minds of the inhabitants, and then put them into their winter-quarters [130]. A. D. 84.

In the beginning of this year, Agricola ſent a plain and modeſt account of theſe tranſactions in Britain to the emperor Domitian; which that jealous and artful tyrant peruſed with much ſeeming ſatisfaction in his countenance, and much real rancour in his heart. For being deſtitute of all virtue himſelf, he was an inveterate enemy to all who excelled in any virtue. On this occaſion, however, he thought fit to conceal his malevolent purpoſes under an appearance of kindneſs. He cauſed the ſenate to decree triumphal ornaments to Agricola, a ſtatue crowned with A. D. 85. Agricola recalled.

[130] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 38.

laurel,

A. D. 85. laurel, and every thing that could be given inſtead of a real triumph; and he accompanied all theſe favours with many gracious expreſſions of eſteem and honour. He carried this diſſimulation ſo far, as to encourage a report that he deſigned to beſtow upon him the government of Syria, which was then vacant. But this was only intended to palliate the diſgrace of removing him from the government of Britain, from whence he was accordingly recalled in the courſe of this year [131].

A. D. 86. Lucullus governor of Britain. The renowned Agricola was ſuccceded in the government of Britain by Salluſtius Lucullus, to whom he left that province very much enlarged and in a ſtate of profound tranquillity. Lucullus did not long enjoy his authority, but was at once deprived of that and of his life, by the wanton cruelty of Domitian. That vain capricious tyrant, though he was at no pains to deſerve fame, was deſirous of engroſſing it intirely to himſelf; and mortally hated every perſon who ſeemed to aſpire to any kind of eminence or renown. Lucullus had invented a lance or ſpear of a new form, which he permitted to be called the Lucullean Lance; and for this very pardonable piece of vanity Domitian commanded him to be put to death [132].

Chaſm in the hiſtory of Britain. From this period to the reign of Hadrian, for about thirty years, under the emperors Nerva

[131] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 39, 40.

[132] Sueton. in Domit. c. 10.

and

and Trajan, the Roman hiſtorians give no particular account of the affairs of Britain; nor do they ſo much as name one of the governors of this province under theſe two emperors. The ſilence of theſe writers does not ſeem to have been owing to a total want of materials, or to the perfect tranquillity of this iſland during that period. For one of them informs us in general, that the Britons, at this time, bore the yoke with impatience, and could hardly be kept in ſubjection [133]. It ſeems alſo probable, that ſome conſiderable works of peace were executed here in this interval; particularly that ſome of the famous military ways, whoſe veſtiges are ſtill viſible in many parts of Britain, were either conſtructed or very much improved in the reign of Trajan, who is greatly celebrated for works of that kind. A. D. 86.

Julius Severus was governor of Britain in the former part of the reign of Hadrian, by whom he was afterwards recalled from hence, and ſent to command the army againſt the Jews, who had revolted [134]. Severus ſeems to have been ſucceeded in the government of this province by Priſcus Licinius, who had alſo been employed in the Jewiſh war [135]. Theſe are the only two governors of Britain of whom we can diſcover any traces in the reign of this emperor, nor do we know any particulars of their tranſactions. A.D. 117. Julius Severus and Priſcus Licinius.

[133] Script. Hiſt. Aug. vita Hadrian. p. 22.
[134] Xiphilin. l. 69. p. 793. [135] Camd. Brit. Introd. p. 81.

Hadrian

A.D. 121.

Emperor Hadrian arrives in Britain.

Hadrian was certainly one of the wiſeſt, moſt active and accompliſhed princes that ever filled the imperial throne of Rome. He viſited in perſon all the provinces of his prodigious empire, examining into the civil and military affairs of each of them, with a minuteneſs which is hardly credible. When this illuſtrious inſpector arrived in Britain, he corrected many things which he found out of order. One great object which Hadrian had in view in viſiting the ſeveral provinces of his empire, was to fortify and ſecure their frontiers againſt the incurſions of enemies. Where the natural bulwarks of mountains, ſeas, and rivers, were wanting, he ſubſtituted ditches, walls, and ramparts. Such a rampart or wall of earth he raiſed in Britain, as the boundary of the Roman province, from the mouth of the river Tine on the eaſt, to the Solway firth on the weſt, near the track where Agricola had built his firſt chain of forts [136]. Some imagine that all the country to the north of this rampart had been recovered from the Romans by the native Britons after the departure of Agricola, while others think it was now voluntarily ſlighted by Hadrian. But which of theſe conjectures is moſt agreeable to truth, it is impoſſible to determine [137]. When this mighty monarch reſided in Britain, ſuperintending theſe works, and regulating the affairs of this province, he carried on a friendly and

[136] See Appendix, No. 9.

[137] Eutrop. l. 8. c. 7. Xiphilin. l. 69. p. 792. Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. vita Hadrian. p. 51. 57.

familiar

familiar correſpondence by letters in verſe, with a poet at Rome, named Florus: of which the reader will find a ſhort ſpecimen below; which is at the ſame time intended as an evidence of the condeſcenſion, wit, and good-humour of this great prince [138]. How long Adrian continued in Britain we are nowhere expreſsly told; but only that his departure was haſtened by the news of a ſedition which had ariſen at Alexandria [139]. A.D. 121.

Lollius Urbicus was governor of Britain in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the adopted ſon and ſucceſſor of Hadrian. Though this excellent emperor was more ſtudious of preſerving than enlarging the empire, and ruled with great mildneſs; there were ſome commotions in Britain in his time, and he found it neceſſary to enlarge the limits of the Roman province in this iſland, in order to ſecure its peace. This he accompliſhed by his lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, who defeated the Mæatæ in ſeveral engagements, and recovered the country as far as the iſthmus between the firths of Forth and Clyde. In order to ſecure his conqueſt, and to keep the Cale- A.D. 138. Lollius Urbicus.

[138] Florus to the emperor Hadrian.

Ego nolo Cæſar eſſe,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

The emperor's anſwer to the poet Florus.

Ego nolo Florus eſſe,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.

Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. vita Hadrian. p. 73, 74.

[139] Id. ibid. p. 54.

A. D. 138. donians at a greater diſtance, Urbicus, by direction of the emperor, raiſed another ſtrong rampart, in imitation of that of Hadrian, between theſe two firths, along the line of forts which had been formerly built there by Agricola. This rampart, with its ditch and forts, was intended for the outmoſt boundary of the Roman empire in Britain[140]. The famous paſſage of Pauſanias, which hath been the ſubject of much debate amongſt our antiquaries and hiſtorians, very probably refers to the tranſaction which is above related. "The emperor (ſays that author) deprived the Brigantes in Britain of much of their lands, becauſe they began to make incurſions into Genounia, a region ſubject to the Romans[141]." The plain meaning of which ſeems to be, that the Maeatæ, who were of the ſame race, and were often called by the ſame name with the Brigantes, aſſiſted by ſome of their countrymen within the wall of Hadrian, made incurſions into Genounia or North Wales; for which inſult the Romans made war upon them, and having defeated them in ſeveral engagements, deprived them of the ſovereignty of all the country between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

A. D. 161. Calpurnius Agricola. Antoninus Pius was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his adopted ſon M. Aurelius Antoninus, the philoſopher, a prince of great wiſdom

140 Eutrop. l. 8. c. 8. Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. vitâ Ant. Pii, p. 132. Append. No. 9.

141 Pauſan. Arcad. p. 273.

and

and virtue. The Roman empire, which had enjoyed great tranquillity in the latter part of the preceding reign, in the beginning of this, began to be threatened with diſturbances in many of its provinces. Amongſt others, the Britons, moſt probably the Mæatæ, who had lately been ſubjected anew to the Roman power, diſcovered a ſtrong tendency to revolt. To prevent or to ſuppreſs this, Calpurnius Agricola was ſent into Britain in quality of lieutenant or governor; and he ſeems to have ſucceeded without much difficulty, as we hear no more of theſe commotions [142]. A.D. 161.

The imperial throne of Rome, which, for more than eighty years, had been filled by great and good princes, was now again diſhonoured by a vain, lewd, and cruel tyrant. This was Commodus, the degenerate and unworthy ſon of Aurelius Antoninus, the philoſopher. The looſe, diſorderly, and oppreſſive government of this prince gave occaſion to many wars, none of which was more dangerous than that of Britain. The Caledonians, having broke through the wall of Antoninus, and being joined by the Mæatæ, invaded the Roman province. To repel this invaſion, the government of Britain was beſtowed upon Ulpius Marcellus, a man of a very different character from thoſe commonly employed by this emperor; perhaps becauſe thoſe profligate wretches who uſed to purchaſe provinces with no A.D. 180. Marcellus, and Pertinax, and Albinus, ſucceſſively governors of Britain.

142 Script. Hiſt. Aug. vita Antonin. Philoſ. p. 169.

A. D. 180. other view but to plunder them, declined a ſtation ſo full of danger and difficulty. Marcellus was brave, abſtemious, and indefatigable, and having firſt reſtored the diſcipline of the Roman troops, he led them againſt the enemy, and defeated them in ſeveral battles[143]. But this ſucceſs, which was ſo ſalutary to the Roman province, had like to have been fatal to Marcellus, by exciting the jealouſy of his unworthy maſter; and he thought himſelf happy that he eſcaped with the loſs of his government[144]. The immediate ſucceſſors of Marcellus are not named, but they were ſo unworthy of their ſtation, and ſo diſagreeable to the army, that they were much enraged againſt Perennius, who had the chief direction of military affairs, and ſent a deputation of fifteen hundred of their number to Rome, to complain of him to the emperor, for giving them ſuch contemptible commanders. Perennius was put into their hands, and they ſhewed him no mercy, but firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded him. To extinguiſh that ſpirit of mutiny which ſtill reigned in the army, even after this ſacrifice, Pertinax was ſent over to command in Britain. That excellent perſon, who was afterwards emperor, found great difficulty in the execution of this commiſſion, and was often in great danger of loſing his life, in ſuppreſſing the tumults of the ſoldiers. At length however he

[143] Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Commod.
[144] Id. ibid. Script. Hiſt. Aug. vita Commod. p. 275.

ſucceeded,

ſucceeded, and having brought the army into tolerable order and diſcipline, he was recalled, at his own earneſt requeſt [145]. Pertinax was probably ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Clodius Albinus, who, it is certain, commanded in this iſland in the latter part of the reign of Commodus, and during the ſhort reigns of his two ſucceſſors. Commodus was indeed ſo much offended with Albinus, for a ſpeech which he made to the army in Britain, on receiving a premature report of that emperor's death, that he appointed Junius Severus to ſucceed him [146]. But Commodus was actually ſlain ſo ſoon after, that Junius never got poſſeſſion of his government. A.D. 180.

Pertinax, who had a few years before commanded in Britain, ſucceeded Commodus; but was allowed to reign only three months and three days, being then murdered by the Prætorian ſoldiers, whoſe licentiouſneſs he deſigned to reform. He was a prince worthy of a better fate and better times. The imperial diadem was now expoſed to ſale by the murderers of the laſt poſſeſſor, and was purchaſed by one Didius Julianus, who wore it without dignity only two months and ten days, being then put to death by the ſame Prætorian troops. Theſe two ſhort tumultuary reigns afford no materials for the hiſtory of Britain [147]. All things were kept in A.D. 193. Pertinax and Julianus emperors.

[145] Script. Hiſt. Aug. vita Commod. p. 301.

[146] Id. ibid. p. 402, 403.

[147] Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Pertinax. Script. Hiſt. Aug. vita Pert. p. 303.

A.D. 193. profound tranquillity in this iſland, by Clodius Albinus, who ſeeing himſelf at the head of a great province and gallant army, by whom he was much beloved, began to entertain more ambitious views, which he afterwards diſcovered.

A.D. 194. Albinus aſſumes the purple in Britain. Septimius Severus being declared emperor by the armies in Spain and Germany, and Peſcennius Niger by thoſe in the eaſt, prepared to diſpute the prize. Severus, who was the beſt politician, as well as the greateſt general, dreading a ſecond competitor in Albinus governor of Britain, declared him Cæſar, and flattered him with the hopes of a higher title, in order to keep him quiet, till he had finiſhed the diſpute with Niger. This policy had the deſired effect. Albinus remained quiet till ſome time after the death of Niger, when finding himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of being admitted a partner in the empire, he aſſumed the purple in Britain, and having ſtrengthened his army with the flower of the Britiſh youth, tranſported them to the continent, to diſpute the empire of the world with Severus. At length, theſe two competitors met, February
A.D. 197. 19th this year, in a plain near Lyons, where a bloody and deciſive battle was fought, in which Albinus being defeated, killed himſelf, and left Severus ſole maſter of the Roman empire [148].

A.D. 198. Virius Lupus. During theſe tranſactions on the continent, this iſland became a ſcene of great confuſion. The Mæatæ and Caledonians, obſerving the defenceleſs

[148] Herodian. l. 3. c. 20, 21, 22. Aurel. Victor. in Septim.

ſtate

ſtate of the Roman province, made incurſions into it, and ſpread deſolation wherever they came. As ſoon as Severus received the news of this, he ſent Virius Lupus with a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Britain, and repel theſe invaders of the province. Lupus not finding himſelf able to accompliſh this by force, prevailed upon the plunderers to retire, by purchaſing their priſoners from them with a ſum of money [149]. This was not the way to put an end to their incurſions. They were renewed with greater violence, from time to time, for ſeveral years: till the governor of Britain (probably Lupus) wrote to the emperor, entreating him either to ſend over a much larger body of troops, or to come over in perſon to quell theſe diſturbances, and reſtore the tranquillity of the province [150]. A.D. 198.

Though the emperor Severus was old and very infirm when he received theſe letters, he immediately reſolved upon an expedition in perſon into Britain. To this he was prompted by his love of military glory, and his deſire of keeping his ſoldiers in action, and of reſcuing his two ſons from the pleaſures and debaucheries of Rome, in which they were deeply plunged. Having ſettled his affairs on the continent, he left the city, and purſuing his journey with great eagerneſs, arrived in Britain, accompanied by his ſons Caracalla and Geta. The news of his arrival, and of his mighty preparations of all kinds for an invaſion A.D. 207. The emperor Severus arrives in Britain.

149 Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Sever. 150 Herodian. l. 3. c. 46.

A.D. 207. of their country, greatly alarmed the Mæatæ and Caledonians, and induced them to ſend ambaſſadors to promiſe ſubmiſſion, and to ſue for peace. But Severus, unwilling to loſe the fruit of the toils and expences which he had been at, and the glory which he expected to gain in the war, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors without any ſatisfactory anſwer; and ſoon after begun his march northward, at the head of a very great army. He left his youngeſt ſon Geta behind him to govern the Roman province in South-Britain, with a council to aſſiſt him, and carried the eldeſt along with him into the north. After the imperial army had paſſed the wall of Hadrian, they met with many difficulties and dangers. The enemy, too weak to encounter them in the open field in pitched battles, haraſſed them with continual ſkirmiſhes, and decoyed them into many ambuſhes. But their greateſt difficulties aroſe from the nature and ſtate of the country, which being in many places covered with thick woods, and in others abounding in ſteep mountains, deep marſhes, lakes, and rivers, rendered their progreſs very ſlow and dangerous. To ſurmount theſe difficulties, the emperor employed one part of his army in cutting down woods, draining lakes and marſhes, making roads, and caſting bridges over rivers, while the other defended the labourers from the enemy. By theſe means he at length penetrated into the very heart of Caledonia, and ſtruck ſuch terror into its inhabitants, that they renewed their ſupplications

for

for peace, which was at laſt granted them, on condition of relinquiſhing a part of their country, and delivering up their arms. The invincible reſolution of the aged emperor in this expedition is the more worthy of our admiration—that he was, during the greateſt part of it, ſo much afflicted with the gout, as to be unable to ride, and was carried in a litter—that he was in continual danger of his life by the machinations of his unnatural ſon Caracalla—and that he beheld his troops ſinking in ſuch multitudes under their fatigues, or falling by the hands of their enemies. In this expedition (if we may believe a cotemporary hiſtorian) he loſt no fewer than fifty thouſand men. But nothing could make him deſiſt from his enterpriſe, till he had brought it to an honourable concluſion [151]. A.D. 207.

Severus, having concluded a peace with the Caledonians, conducted his army back into the north parts of the Roman province. Being now at leiſure, and obſerving that Hadrian's rampart of earth was but a ſlender ſecurity to the province, againſt the incurſions of the more northern Britons, he determined to erect a more ſubſtantial barrier. With this view, he employed his troops, for about two years, in building a ſtupendous wall of ſolid ſtone, twelve feet high, and eight feet thick, ſtrengthened with many towers, caſtles, and ſtations at convenient diſtances, and accompanied with a ditch and mi- A.D. 209. Severus builds his wall in Britain.

151 Herodian. l. 3. c. 46. Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Sever.

litary

A. D. 209. litary way [152]. This prodigious wall (the veſtiges of which are ſtill viſible in ſeveral places) was built nearly parallel to that of Hadrian, at the diſtance of a few paces further to the north, and from the eaſt coaſt near Tinmouth, to the Solway firth, at Boulneſs, on the weſt coaſt [153].

A.D. 210. Severus unhappy.

Severus being now almoſt worn out with age, infirmities, and toils, retired to York, in hopes of enjoying ſome repoſe and comfort as the fruit of ſo many victories, by which he had quelled all the commotions of the empire, and reſtored univerſal peace [154]. But he was diſappointed in theſe hopes, and the laſt year of his life was very uncomfortable and unhappy. This was partly owing to the increaſe of his bodily infirmities, and partly to the vices and mutual enmity of his ſons, and their impatient longing for his death, to which he was no ſtranger. The public affairs of Britain took alſo an unfavourable and vexatious turn, which added to his chagrin. For the Mæatæ and Caledonians, being informed of the declining ſtate of the emperor's health, and the diſtracted condition of his family, renewed the war, in hopes of recovering that part of their country which they had been obliged to reſign. The aged emperor, become peeviſh by his ſufferings, flew into the moſt violent rage at the news of this revolt, and gave orders to exterminate theſe two

[152] Spartian. vita Severi. Eutrop. Oroſius, l. 7. c. 11.

[153] See Append. No. 9.

[154] Spartian. Script. Hiſt. Aug. p. 364.

nations, without ſparing the very infants in their mothers womb [155]. A.D. 210.

But Severus being no longer able to appear at the head of his troops to execute his own deſigns, theſe cruel orders were not obeyed. For his eldeſt ſon Caracalla, whom he appointed to command the army in this expedition, inſtead of attacking the enemy, bent his whole endeavours to corrupt his ſoldiers, and prevail upon them to declare him ſole emperor, after his father's death to the excluſion of his brother Geta. Nay, that unnatural ſon, it is ſaid, did not abſtain from perſuading the phyſicians and attendants of his aged and languiſhing parent, to put an end to his life, by ſome violent means. But nature prevented this crime, and the wretched emperor expired, at York, February the 4th, A. D. 211, not ſo much of his bodily infirmities, as of a broken heart. In his laſt moments, he appointed his two ſons his heirs and ſucceſſors in the empire; recommending them both in the moſt earneſt and affectionate manner to his ſurrounding friends. As ſoon as Caracalla received the long expected and earneſtly deſired news of his father's death, he concluded a peace with the Mæatæ and Caledonians, and marched his army ſouthward, to take poſſeſſion of the empire, which, to his unſpeakable regret, he was obliged to ſhare for ſome time with his brother Geta. The two young emperors did not continue long in A.D. 211. The emperor Severus dies in Britain.

[155] Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Sever.

Britain,

A.D. 211. Britain, but made all poſſible haſte to Rome, to enjoy the honours and pleaſures of that great capital of the Roman world[156].

A.D. 211, to 284. Chaſm in the hiſtory of Britain.

After the departure of theſe emperors, the Roman hiſtorians take very little notice of the affairs of Britain for more than ſeventy years. This long ſilence of theſe writers probably proceeded from the great tranquillity which this iſland enjoyed in this period; and that tranquillity ſeems to have been owing to the concurrence of the following cauſes. All the Britiſh nations to the ſouth of Severus's wall had now quietly ſubmitted to the Roman government, and had laid aſide all thoughts of revolting; and the authority of the Romans had put an end to the wars of theſe nations againſt one another. Theſe two circumſtances ſecured the internal quiet of South Britain. The emperors of theſe times, being either unwarlike, or employed at a great diſtance, contented themſelves with the peaceable poſſeſſion of their large and flouriſhing province in the ſouth of Britain, and gave no diſturbance to the Britiſh nations in the north. Theſe nations, thinking themſelves very happy, in being allowed to enjoy their woods and mountains unmoleſted, and looking upon the wall of Severus, with its turrets, forts, and caſtles, as impregnable, made no attempts to break through it for many years. By this means, this iſland now enjoyed a longer peace than in any former or later period of its

156 Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Sever. Herodian. l. 3. c. 49. 50, 51.

hiſtory,

hiſtory, and thereby happily eſcaped the attention of thoſe writers, who are almoſt wholly employed in deſcribing ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter. It is impoſſible to fill up this chaſm which is left in the hiſtory of our country by the Roman hiſtorians, from any other quarter. A few unconnected, unimportant particulars, as the names of ſome of the governors of Britain in this period, &c. might be collected from inſcriptions [157]; but they could give the reader little or no ſatisfaction. It is alſo imagined that ſome of the thirty tyrants, as they are commonly called, who diſturbed the empire in the reign of Gallienus, from A.D. 259 to A.D. 268, acted their part in Britain; becauſe ſome of the coins of five or ſix of them have been found in the iſland [158]. If they did ſo, it is probable, that the part they acted was not very illuſtrious, as it hath not found a place in hiſtory. A.D. 211, to 284.

In this year Diocleſian aſcended the imperial throne, into which he ſoon after admitted Maximianus Herculius, as his partner in the toils and honours of that exalted ſtation. Nor was it long before theſe two emperors, finding themſelves unable to defend all the provinces of their prodigious empire, made choice of two Cæſars, Galerius Maximianus, and Conſtantius Chlorus. While theſe four great princes governed the Roman empire, the ſeas and coaſts of Gaul and Britain be- A.D. 284. Carauſius aſſumes the purple in Britain.

[157] Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 289, 290, 276.
[158] Speed's Chron. p. 246.

gan

A. D. 284. gan to be inveſted by new enemies. Theſe were the Franks and Saxons, two nations who afterwards made an illuſtrious figure in the hiſtory of Europe. At this time they acted chiefly as pirates, ſeizing ſuch merchant-ſhips as they were able to maſter, and making ſhort deſcents on the coaſts for the ſake of plunder. Againſt theſe new enemies, who became daily more formidable by their ferocity and valour, the emperors prepared a very powerful fleet in the harbour of Boulogne, and gave the command of it to Carauſius, an officer of great courage and experience, eſpecially in ſea affairs. If Carauſius had been as faithful as he was capable, this would have been a very happy choice. But it ſoon appeared, that he had ſelfiſh and ambitious deſigns in view, and ſtudied more to enrich himſelf, than to execute his commiſſion. For it was obſerved, that he never attacked the pirates as they were outward-bound, but waited their return with their prizes, which he ſeized and appropriated to his own uſe, inſtead of reſtoring them to the original proprietors, or accounting for them to the imperial treaſury. The emperor Maximianus, being greatly alarmed at this proceeding, gave orders to have him privately put to death. But Carauſius eſcaped this danger; and having engaged the fleet under his command to follow his fortunes, he ſailed into Britain, and there aſſumed the purple. The army here, both legionaries and auxiliaries, ſoon after imitated the example of the fleet, and declared for him: by which means, he became

became no contemptible pretender to the imperial diadem; being abſolute maſter of the narrow ſeas—of all the Roman dominions in this iſland—and of ſome important places on the continent. He took alſo the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve his acquiſitions, by making an alliance with the Franks and Saxons, and taking many of them into his fleet and army. The emperor Maximianus, being engaged in other wars, and not having a fleet equal to that of Carauſius, thought it moſt prudent to make peace with him, by granting him the title of emperor, with the government of Britain, and of a few ports on the continent; all which he enjoyed in great tranquillity for ſeveral years. In this interval it ſeems probable, that he enlarged the limits of the Roman empire in Britain, by ſubduing the Mæatæ; ſince we are told, that he repaired the wall between the Forth and Clyde, by adding to it ſeven caſtles, and ſome other works [159]. A.D. 284.

In the diviſion of the empire this year, between the two emperors, Diocleſian and Maximianus, and their two Cæſars, Conſtantius and Galerius, all the provinces beyond the Alps weſtward fell to the ſhare of Conſtantius Cæſar; who immediately reſolved to attempt the recovery of Britain, one of theſe provinces, out of the hands of Carauſius. For though Maximianus had been conſtrained, by the neceſſity of his affairs, to A.D. 292. Carauſius ſlain.

159 Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. l. 9. c. 21, 22. Eumen. Panegyr. 8, 9. Antiq. Rutup. p. 65. Nennii Hiſt. Brit. c. 19.

make

A.D. 292. make peace with that adventurer, yet he was ſtill conſidered as an uſurper, by the other ſovereigns of the empire. Conſtantius begun this war by beſieging Boulogne, both by ſea and land. This being one of the beſt harbours, and ſtrongeſt places belonging to Carauſius on the continent, he made great efforts for its relief. But as he was not able to break through a ſtrong bank of ſtone, with which Conſtantius had blocked up the port, he was obliged to deſiſt, and ſuffer it to be taken. The imperial fleet not being yet ſufficiently ſtrong to undertake the invaſion of Britain, Conſtantius gave orders for building ſhips in the ſeveral ports of Gaul; and in the mean time he employed his army in reducing ſome of the neighbouring nations, who had revolted. Carauſius applied himſelf with great diligence to prepare every thing neceſſary for reſiſting the

A.D. 293. threatened invaſion. But while he was thus engaged, he was treacherouſly murdered at York, by Alectus, one of his chief officers and confidents; who immediately aſſumed the purple, and the government of Britain, which he enjoyed about three years without moleſtation [160].

A.D. 296. Conſtantius recovers Britain. All things being now prepared for the expedition into Britain, Conſtantius divided his fleet and army into two, in order to diſtract the attention of the enemy, by making a deſcent upon two different parts of the coaſt at the ſame time. He gave the command of one of theſe diviſions

160 Eumen. Panegyr. 8. Nennii Hiſt. Brit. c. 19.

to

to Aſclepiodotus, the captain of his guards, an officer of great courage and conduct; and led the other in perſon. The ſquadron commanded by Aſclepiodotus, having happily eſcaped the fleet of Alectus near the Iſle of Wight, by the favour of a great fog, landed without oppoſition on the neighbouring coaſt of Britain. As ſoon as Aſclepiodotus had diſembarked his troops, he ſet fire to his ſhips, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, and that his own men might have no hopes but in victory. Alectus no ſooner heard of the landing of this army, than he marched in a very haſty and tumultuary manner to attack them, leaving that part of the coaſt where he had encamped before quite defenceleſs. This gave an opportunity to Conſtantius, who arrived there ſoon after with the greateſt part of his fleet, to land his troops without the leaſt reſiſtance, and to march immediately to join the other diviſion of his army. But he received the agreeable news by the way, that Alectus was ſlain, and his army routed and diſperſed by Aſclepiodotus and the troops under his command. The danger, however, was not yet quite over, nor the victory complete. For a great body of Franks and Saxons, of which the army of Alectus had chiefly conſiſted, having eſcaped from the battle, entered London and began to plunder it, in hopes of making their eſcape by ſea, after having enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of that great city. But the ſame felicity A.D. 296.

A.D. 296 which had attended Conſtantius in the whole of this expedition appeared again on this occaſion. For a part of his fleet and army, which had been ſeparated from him in the fog, having entered the Thames, arrived at London in that critical moment, and falling upon the plunderers, made a great ſlaughter of them, and preſerved the city from ruin. By this ſeries of happy events, Britain was re-united to the Roman empire, after it had been diſmembered from it more than ten years; the ſeas were cleared of pirates, and the freedom of navigation reſtored. Theſe events were no leſs agreeable to the Britons than to the Romans; and Conſtantius, who was a great and good prince, was received by them rather as a deliverer, and guardian angel, than a conqueror [161].

A.D. 305. Reſignation of Diocleſian and Maximianus. The two emperors, Diocleſian and Maximianus, being ſatiated with the honours, and wearied with the toils and cares of empire, took the ſingular reſolution of reſigning their authority, and retiring into a private ſtation. This reſolution they executed on the firſt day of May this year, and their two Cæſars, Conſtantius and Galerius, were declared emperors. In the diviſion of the empire between theſe two princes, the weſtern provinces fell to the ſhare of Conſtantius, who reſided in Britain, and had ſome diſputes with the Caledonians, of which we know no particulars, but that he reduced them to ſue for peace. This

[161] Eutrop. l. 9. c. 22. Eumen. Panegyr. 8.

excellent

excellent prince did not long enjoy the imperial dignity, but falling ſick at York, on his return from his Caledonian expedition, he died there July 25th, A.D. 306; having in his laſt moments declared his illuſtrious ſon his heir and ſucceſſor in the empire [162]. A.D. 305.

Conſtantine the Great was the ſon of the emperor Conſtantius by his firſt wife Helena, a princeſs greatly celebrated for her piety and virtue. Many of our ancient, and ſome of our modern hiſtorians affirm poſitively, that this illuſtrious princeſs was a native of Britain, and the daughter of a Britiſh king named Coil; and not a few of them are equally poſitive, that her illuſtrious ſon was alſo born in this iſland [163]. Both theſe facts may be true, but it muſt be confeſſed, that neither of them is ſupported by the teſtimony of any cotemporary writer. It is more certain that Conſtantine the Great began his auſpicious reign at York, where he was preſent at his father's death, and where he was immediately after ſaluted emperor, with the greateſt and moſt univerſal joy [164]. It is more probably to his acceſſion to empire, than to his birth, that the following exclamation of his panegyriſt refers: "O fortu- "nate Britain! more happy than all other lands, "for thou haſt firſt beheld Conſtantine Cæſar [165]!" The new emperor ſtaid ſome time in Britain, to A.D. 306. Acceſſion of Conſtantine the Great.

[162] Eutrop. l. 10. c. 1. Aurel. Vict. in Conſtantino.
[163] Vide Uſſer. de primord. Eccleſ. Brit. c. 8.
[164] Eutrop. l. 10. c. 11. Aurel. Victor. in Conſtantino.
[165] Eumen. Panegyr. 9.

A.D.306. pay the laſt honours to his father's aſhes, to finiſh the remains of the war with the Mæatæ and Caledonians (who about this time began to be called by the new names of Picts and Scots), and to ſettle the peace of this iſland on a ſolid baſis. Having accompliſhed theſe deſigns, and having recruited his army with a great number of Britiſh youth, by whom he was much beloved, he departed to the continent, to reduce the Franks, who had revolted, and to diſpute the empire with Maxentius, the ſon of the abdicated emperor Maximianus, who had aſſumed the purple at Rome[166]. One of our greateſt antiquaries, and beſt hiſtorians, is of opinion, that Conſtantine the Great returned again into Britain ſome years after his firſt departure, and that it was then he ſubdued the nations in the north parts of this iſland[167]. But of this there is not ſufficient evidence; and the ſhort hint in Euſebius, on which that writer founds his opinion, moſt probably refers to what Conſtantine performed here, in the beginning of his reign[168]. For this iſland ſeems to have enjoyed a profound peace from that time to the death of this great prince, which happened May 22, A. D. 337.

A.D. 337. Conſtantine, Conſtans, and Conſtantius, emperors.

Conſtantine the Great was ſucceeded by his three ſons, Conſtantine, Conſtans, and Conſtantius; among whom the provinces of the empire were divided. Conſtantine, the eldeſt of theſe

[166] Euſeb. Panegyr. 10. Lactant. c. 26.
[167] Camb. Brit. p. 98.
[168] Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 2. c. 19.

princes, who had Gaul, Spain, Britain, and part of Germany, was never contented with his ſhare of his father's dominions, which he thought inferior to that of either of his brothers. After ſeveral fruitleſs complaints and negociations, he at laſt had recourſe to arms, and invading the territories of his brother Conſtans, fell into an ambuſh near Aquileia, and was cut in pieces, with the greateſt part of his army, in the ſpring of the year 340 [169]. A.D. 337. Conſtantine ſlain.

His brother being thus ſlain, Conſtans ſeized all his dominions, and became ſole maſter of the weſtern empire. This emperor having eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillity in all his provinces on the continent, impoſed an extraordinary tax upon his ſubjects, prepared a great fleet, and viſited his Britiſh dominions in the beginning of this year, in order to chaſtiſe the Scots and Picts, for their attempts upon the Roman province. The particulars of this expedition are loſt with the firſt part of Ammianus Marcellinus's hiſtory, in which they were recorded. If we could depend on the teſtimony of his medals, we ſhould be led to believe, that Conſtans had ſlaughtered great multitudes of the enemy on this occaſion. But medals were by this time become great flatterers, and made a mighty matter of every trifling advantage [170]. A.D. 343. Conſtans viſits Britain.

169 Eutrop. l. 10. c. 5.

170 Ammian. Marcel. l. 20. c. 1. Du Cange de infer. ævi num. c. 58.

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A.D. 343. Firmicus, who ſeems diſpoſed to magnify this exploit of the emperor as much as poſſible, ſays nothing of his victories, but celebrates, in a very high ſtrain, his courage in paſſing the ſea in winter, and terrifying the Britons by his arrival at that ſeaſon of the year[171]. Libanius even aſſerts, that there was no war in Britain at this time that required the preſence of the emperor[172].

A.D. 350. Magnentius uſurps the empire.

Conſtans, after his return to the continent, by neglecting his affairs, and purſuing his pleaſures with too much eagerneſs, ruined his health, and loſt both the eſteem and affection of the army, and of his other ſubjects. This encouraged ſome of his chief officers to conſpire his deſtruction, and to ſet up Magnentius, one of their own number, in his room. This deſign was executed in the city of Autun, on the 18th of January this year, amidſt the feſtivity of a great entertainment, at which Magnentius ſuddenly appearing arrayed in purple, was ſaluted emperor, firſt by the officers, then by the ſoldiers, and at laſt by the people. The unhappy Conſtans, who was then at ſome diſtance, engaged in a party of pleaſure, having received intelligence of this revolution, attempted to ſave his life, by flying towards Spain; but being abandoned by all the world, was overtaken and put to death at Elna in Rouſillon[173]. Britain, and

171 Firmic. de error. prof. relig. c. 29. 172 Liban. Orat. 3.
173 Eutrop. l. 10. c. 6. Amm. Marcel. l. 15. c. 5. Zoſim. l. 2.

all

all the other provinces on this ſide the Alps, immediately ſubmitted to the uſurper, and Italy ſoon after followed their example. A. D 350.

Conſtantius, emperor of the eaſt, the youngeſt and only ſurviving ſon of Conſtantine the Great, no ſooner received the news of this unexpected revolution, than he laid aſide all his other deſigns, and made great preparations for revenging the death of his brother, and recovering his dominions. Marching at the head of a great army into the weſt, he defeated Magnentius in one of the moſt bloody battles that was ever fought, near Murſa in Pannonia, on the 28th of September, A. D. 351. The uſurper, having ſuſtained ſeveral other loſſes, and dreading to fall into the hands of his juſtly enraged enemy, firſt ſlew his mother and other relations, and then killed himſelf at Lyons, on Auguſt the 11th, A. D. 353; and Britain, with all the other provinces of the weſt, ſubmitted with pleaſure to the conqueror, who became ſole maſter of the whole Roman empire. Conſtantius appointed Gratianus Funarius, father of Valentinian, who was afterwards emperor, to be governor, or, as he was then called, vicar of Britain. Gratianus does not ſeem to have enjoyed that dignity long, as we find Martinus ſoon after in that ſtation [174]. A.D. 353. Conſtantius ſole emperor.

If Conſtantius had acted with clemency and moderation after his ſucceſs, he would have ſe- A.D. 354. Severity of Conſtantius.

174 Eutrop. l. 10. c. 6. Zoſim. l. 2. Amm. Marcel. l. 10. Jul. Orat. 1, 2.

A. D. 354. cured his own glory, and the felicity of his ſubjects, who were univerſally diſpoſed to the moſt cheerful ſubmiſſion. But corrupted by proſperity, and yielding to the perſuaſions of his courtiers, who hoped to enrich themſelves by confiſcation, he ſet on foot a cruel inquiſition after all who had favoured the late uſurper, or had ſubmitted to his authority. Nothing was heard of, in all the provinces of the weſtern empire, but impriſonments, tortures, confiſcations, and executions. Britain had her full ſhare of theſe calamities. One Paulus a Spaniard, and ſecretary to the emperor, was ſent as commiſſary or inquiſitor into this iſland; who executed his commiſſion with the moſt flagrant injuſtice, and unrelenting cruelty, involving the innocent and guilty in one common ruin. Martinus, the governor, a man of virtue and humanity, having endeavoured in vain to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, drew his ſword, and attempted to kill Paulus; but miſſing his blow, and knowing that he could expect no mercy after ſuch an attempt, he plunged it into his own boſom, and expired on the ſpot[175]. Nor did the infamous Paulus triumph much longer in his villanies; but came to an end ſuitable to his crimes; for he was ſoon after burnt alive, by command of the emperor Julian[176].

[175] Amm. Marcel. l. 14. c. 5. Liban. Orat. 12.
[176] Amm. Marcel. l. 22. c. 3.

The

The Roman province in South Britain had received very little diſturbance, from the Britiſh nations in the north, for about one hundred and fifty years. The wall of Severus, being then in full repair, and defended by regular garriſons, effectually protected the province from all inſults on that ſide. This long tranquillity had enabled the provincial Britons, with the inſtructions and aſſiſtance of the Romans, greatly to improve their country, and render it a very inviting object to their leſs induſtrious, but more warlike neighbours. Accordingly, the Scots and Picts, tempted by the proſpect of plunder, made an incurſion, by ſome means or other, into the province, about the beginning of the year. Julian the Apoſtate, who had lately been declared Cæſar, and ſoon after became emperor, had the chief direction of affairs in the weſtern empire at this time, and reſided in Gaul. Having received intelligence of this invaſion of the Roman territories in Britain, he ſent over Lupicinus, an officer of rank and character, with ſome cohorts of light-armed troops, to aſſiſt in repulſing the enemy; who no ſooner heard of his arrival, than they retired into their own country with their booty. Lupicinus proceeded no farther than to London, where having ſettled ſome affairs, he returned to the continent[177]. The reinforcement of the Roman army, and their greater vigilance and activity, deterred the

A. D. 360. Incurſion of the Scots and Picts.

[177] Amm. Marcel. l. 20. c. 1.

Scots

A. D. 360. Scots and Picts from making any further attempts upon the province for ſome time; and they continued quiet, during the ſhort reign of the emperor Julian, and the ſtill ſhorter one of his ſucceſſor Jovian.

A. D. 364. Incurſions of the Scots, Picts, and Attacots, and depredations of the Franks and Saxons.

Soon after the acceſſion of Valentinian and his brother Valens to the imperial throne, the empire was aſſaulted almoſt on all ſides, by the ſurrounding nations. In Britain, while the piratical Franks and Saxons plundered the ſouthern coaſts, the Scots, Picts, and Attacots [178] invaded the Roman province on the north. Theſe nations, having found, by their late attempt in the reign of Julian, that the wall of Severus was not impregnable; and that the country within it, being rich, afforded abundance of valuable plunder; they ruſhed into it with their united forces, and puſhed their depredations much further than they had done before. As they advanced they had frequent encounters with the Roman forces ſtationed in this iſland, and in one of theſe, they ſlew Bulchobandes the Roman general, and Nectaridius, count of the Saxon ſhore [179]. As ſoon as the emperor Valentinian received intelligence of this formidable invaſion, and of the death of his generals, he ſent over Severus, an officer of diſtinction in his houſehold, to command in Britain; who, being ſoon after recalled, was ſucceeded by Jovinus, a captain who had acquired great military fame in

[178] See chap. 3. ſect. 19. [179] Amm. Marcel. l. 27. c. 9.

Germany,

Germany. But as neither of theſe generals brought any conſiderable reinforcement of troops with them into Britain, they were not able to expel the enemy from the Roman province; where they carried on their deſtructive ravages for three years ſucceſſively, before they received an effectual check. A. D. 364.

At length, the emperor Valentinian, being determined to put an end to the war in Britain, and deliver this province from theſe cruel plunderers, appointed Theodoſius, one of the beſt and wiſeſt men and greateſt generals of that age, to command in this iſland, and ſent him over with an army. At his arrival, Theodoſius found his province in a very deplorable condition. The enemy had penetrated as far as London, and had collected a prodigious maſs of booty, as well as taken a great multitude of men, women, and children priſoners. The Roman general, having aſſembled his army with great expedition, fell upon the enemy while they were loaden with plunder and encumbered with priſoners, and obliged them to fly, leaving behind them all their prey and captives. He ſet all the priſoners immediately at liberty, and having beſtowed part of the ſpoils, whoſe owners could not be found, on his ſoldiers, he reſtored the reſt to the original proprietors; gaining as much glory by his juſtice and generoſity after the victory, as he had done by his wiſdom and valour in the battle. He marched his victorious army to London (then called Auguſta), which he entered in triumph, A. D. 367. Theodoſius governor of Britain.

A.D. 367. triumph, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, who viewed him as their deliverer from impending ruin. Here, reflecting on the ſtate of the country, and the further proſecution of the war, he invited over Civilis, a perſon of great probity and wiſdom, and committed to him the adminiſtration of the civil government: he alſo ſent for Dulcitius, a captain renowned for his courage and conduct, to aſſiſt him in the command of the army. During the late times of confuſion, many Roman officers, ſoldiers, and others had deſerted to the enemy, either through fear, or a deſire of ſharing with them in their plunder; and ſtill continued with them, through deſpair of mercy. To reclaim theſe, Theodoſius iſſued a proclamation, promiſing a pardon to all who returned to their duty before a certain day. This gracious and prudent meaſure produced the happieſt effects, great numbers embracing the promiſed amneſty [180].

A.D. 368. Great ſucceſs and wiſe conduct of Theodoſius.

Theodoſius, having ſpent the winter in eſtabliſhing order and tranquillity in the ſouth parts of Britain, took the field in the ſpring, directing his march northward. The enemy every where fled before him, abandoning not only the open country, but alſo many forts, ſtations, and cities which they had ſeized, though not without leaving behind them many marks of their rapacious and deſtructive diſpoſitions. The Romans ſtill advancing, took poſſeſſion of the

180 Amm. Marcel. l. 27. c. 7.

places

places which the enemy had abandoned, and repaired ſuch of them as they had deſtroyed, until they recovered the whole country to the ſouth of Severus's wall, which had long been the boundary of the empire on that ſide. But Theodoſius, not yet ſatiated with victory and ſucceſs, purſued the flying enemy ſtill further, and drove them beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius, which he repaired, and made once more the frontier of the Roman territories in Britain. The country between the two walls he reduced into the form of a province, which he named Valentia, in honour of the emperor Valens. But while this excellent perſon was engaged in theſe glorious toils, a dangerous plot was forming againſt his authority and life. One Valentinus, who had been baniſhed into Britain for his crimes, was the author of this conſpiracy, in which he found means to engage ſeveral other exiles, and even ſome Roman officers and ſoldiers. But this plot was happily diſcovered when it was on the point of being carried into execution; and Theodoſius having commanded Valentinus and a few of the moſt guilty of his accomplices to be put to death, very wiſely and generouſly prohibited any further enquiry or proſecution [181]. A.D. 368.

Theodoſius was no leſs fit for the cabinet than the camp, and excelled as much in the arts of ſecuring and improving, as of making conqueſts. A.D. 369. Theodoſius much beloved in Britain.

[181] Amm. Marcel. l. 28. c. 3. 7.

Of

A.D. 369. Of this he gave many proofs while he commanded in Britain. During the long peace which had reigned in this iſland, the walls, forts, and caſtles, which had been built for the protection of the province, were very much neglected; and military diſcipline very much relaxed. He repaired the former, and revived the latter. Having diſcovered that the Arcani, a kind of light troops, who were ſtationed in the advanced poſts on the frontiers, and deſigned to act as ſcouts or ſpies, had betrayed their truſt, and correſponded with the enemy, he caſhiered them with diſgrace, and eſtabliſhed another corps in their room, for that important ſervice. He corrected many abuſes in the collection of the public revenues, and even perſuaded the emperor to make ſome abatement in the taxes. He gave all poſſible encouragement and aſſiſtance to the provincials, in repairing the damages which their villages, towns, and cities had ſuſtained in the late incurſions. In one word, from the greateſt confuſion, diſtreſs, and miſery, he brought the Roman territories in Britain to a ſtate of the moſt perfect order, happineſs, and ſecurity [182]. The many great and good actions which this excellent perſon performed in this iſland, as well as in other places, not only furniſhed a theme to the beſt poets of that age [183], but

[182] Amm. Marcel. l. 28. c. 3. 7.

[183] Ille Caledoniis poſuit qui caſtra pruinis
Qui medios Libyæ ſub caſſide pertulit æſtus,
Terribilis

but excited the warmeſt gratitude and affection in all who had enjoyed the benefit of his wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration. When he was recalled by the emperor, to be raiſed to one of the higheſt dignities in the empire, he was attended to the place of his embarkation by infinite multitudes of people, who loaded him with bleſſings, and purſued him with the moſt fervent prayers for his proſperity. A.D. 369.

The Roman territories in Britain enjoyed the moſt profound tranquillity for ſeveral years after the departure of Theodoſius. The ſouth coaſts were ſecured by a powerful fleet againſt the depredations of the Saxons; and the Scots and Picts had received ſo ſevere a check, that they made no attempts upon the northern frontiers. This tranquillity might have been of much longer continuance, if the provincial Britons, as well as the Roman ſoldiers, had not eſpouſed the cauſe of an unfortunate pretender to the imperial purple. This was Maximus, an officer of great reputation in the Roman army in Britain. The emperor Gratian, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Valentinian, finding himſelf and his infant brother Valentinian II. very unequal to A D. 375. Maximus aſſumes the purple in Britain.

Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter Boriæ vaſtator & Auſtri.
Quid rigor æternus? Cœli quid ſydera proſunt?
Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxoni fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Claudian. Panegyr. Theod.

the

A. D. 375. the taſk of governing and protecting all the provinces of their mighty empire, declared Theodoſius (ſon of that Theodoſius who had lately commanded with ſo much glory in this iſland) his partner in the empire, on January A. D. 379. 16th, A. D. 379, and ſent him into the eaſt to fight againſt the Goths. This meaſure, which proved very fortunate to the empire, was highly offenſive to Maximus, who having ſerved in an equal rank, and with equal reputation, thought himſelf equally entitled to a place on the imperial throne. He determined therefore to ſeize by force what he could not obtain by favour, and aſſumed the purple in this iſland, A. D. 381 [184].

A. D. 383. Maximus's expedition to the continent. If Maximus could have contented himſelf with the dominion of the Roman territories in Britain, he might probably have enjoyed it long, without much moleſtation. Though he was a Spaniard by birth, he had reſided many years in this iſland, had married the daughter of a Britiſh chieftain, and by his good ſervices under Theodoſius the elder, he had contributed not a little to the preſent peace and proſperity of the country [185]. Theſe things greatly endeared him to the provincial Britons, who eſpouſed his cauſe with as much warmth as the army had done. But this iſland appeared too narrow a ſphere for his ambition, and he aſpired to the poſſeſſion of the whole weſtern empire; the preſent circum-

[184] Zoſim. l. 4. [185] Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 166, 167.

ſtances

ſtances of which ſeemed to flatter him with the hopes of ſucceſs. Valentinian II. one of the reigning emperors of the weſt, was ſtill in his childhood; his elder brother Gratian was a weak unpopular prince, who had given general diſguſt to the Roman ſoldiers, by his fondneſs for ſtrangers; and Theodoſius, his moſt formidable rival, was fully employed in the eaſt. To ſeize this favourable opportunity for accompliſhing his deſigns, he inliſted prodigious numbers of the Britiſh youth, who crowded with eagerneſs to his ſtandard; and having trained them to the uſe of arms, he tranſported them with his veteran troops to the continent. Soon after he had landed his army near the mouth of the Rhine, he received a great acceſſion of ſtrength, by the Roman troops in that neighbourhood, and in Germany, declaring in his favour. The emperor Gratian, having raiſed a very numerous army, advanced towards Maximus to give him battle; but after ſome ſkirmiſhing, being betrayed by his generals, and abandoned by his troops, he fled towards Lyons, where he fell into an ambuſh, and was ſlain, on Auguſt 25th, A.D. 383. By this means Maximus obtained poſſeſſion of all thoſe provinces of the empire which had been under the immediate government of Gratian. Elated with this ſucceſs, he declared Victor, who was his ſon by a Britiſh lady, his partner in the empire, which attached the Britons in his army ſtill more firmly to his cauſe. Nor did he ſtop here, but by various A.D. 383.

A. D. 387. means he obliged Valentinian II. to abandon Italy A. D. 387, leaving him ſole maſter of the weſtern empire. But this great proſperity was not of long continuance. For Valentinian having implored the protection of Theodoſius, emperor of the eaſt; that great prince generouſly eſpouſed his cauſe, and marched into the weſt, at the head of a gallant army, to reſtore him to his dominions. Maximus, was defeated in two great battles, and having retired to Aquileia [136], he was there ſeized by his own ſoldiers and delivered to Theodoſius, who commanded him to
A. D. 388. be put to death, in Auguſt, A. D. 388. The Britiſh forces in the party of Maximus, were not preſent in theſe unfortunate engagements; having been ſent a little before with the young emperor Victor (to whom, as their countryman, they were peculiarly devoted) into Gaul, to make head againſt the Franks. But Victor was ſoon after defeated and ſlain, and his army put to flight. The unhappy Britons, who had followed the fortunes of this young prince, were now in a deplorable ſituation: in a foreign country; ſurrounded with enemies; without a leader to conduct them; or ſhips to carry them home.

[136] Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes,
Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,
Mœnibus et portu celeberrima; ſed majus illud
Eminet, extremo quod te ſub tempore, legit,
Solverat exacto cui juſta piacula luſtro
Maximus, armigeri quondam ſub nomine lixæ;
Fœlix qui tanti ſpectatrix læta triumphi,
Puniſti Auſonio Rutupinum Matre latronem. Auſonius.

In

In this extremity, they directed their rout to the north-weſt point of Gaul (which was then called Aremorica), in hopes of finding the means of paſſing from thence into Cornwal. But being diſappointed in this, and having met with a kind reception from the Belgæ, who then inhabited that coaſt, they ſettled there, and never returned again into Britain. The number of theſe ſettlers was ſo great, that they are ſaid to have given their own name to that part of the continent, which was thenceforward called Britanny; and to have laid the foundation of that friendly intercourſe, and remarkable reſemblance, which ſo long ſubſiſted between the inhabitants of that diſtrict, and the ancient Britons of this iſland. A.D. 388.

South Britain very ſoon and very ſenſibly felt the fatal conſequences of the emigration of ſo great a number of her braveſt ſons. For the Scots, Picts, Franks, and Saxons, encouraged by this circumſtance, renewed their incurſions and depredations. But Theodoſius the Great, who had become ſole maſter of the Roman world, by the death of Valentinian II. and of the uſurper Eugenius, ſent Chryſantus, a general of great reputation, as his vicar into Britain, to put a ſtop to theſe ravages. This officer, who afterwards became a biſhop, executed his commiſſion with great ability and ſucceſs; expelled the enemies, and reſtored the tranquillity of the province [187]. A.D. 393. Incurſions and depredations of the Scots, Picts, Franks, and Saxons.

[187] Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 12.

A.D. 395. Another invaſion of the Scots and Picts.

The peace and proſperity which Britain and the other provinces of the Roman empire enjoyed under the protection of the great Theodoſius, was not of long duration. For that illuſtrious prince ended his glorious life and reign at Milan on January 17th this year: bequeathing to his eldeſt ſon, Arcadius, the empire of the eaſt, and to the youngeſt, Honorius, that of the weſt. He put this laſt prince (who was then only ten years of age), and his dominions, under the tuition of his friend Stilico, who had been the companion of all his toils and victories. As ſoon as the death of Theodoſius, and the ſucceſſion of his infant ſon, were known, an inundation of enemies poured into the weſtern empire on all ſides, and ſeemed to threaten it with immediate and total ruin. Amongſt others, the Scots and Picts invaded the Roman province in this iſland, and purſued their deſtructive ravages with great ferocity. But at length Stilico, who for ſome time diſcharged his important truſt with fidelity and honour, ſent a reinforcement of troops into Britain, which expelled the enemies out of that province, and reſtored its peace[188]. This exploit of Stilico was eſteemed ſo famous and important, that it is far from being forgotten by his poetical panegyriſt[189].

But

[188] Claud. de bello Gallico.

[189] Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Hibernem
Movit,

But notwithſtanding this, and ſome other ſmall advantages of the Roman arms, the diſtreſſes of the weſtern empire daily increaſed and multiplied. Africa was diſmembered from it; Thrace, Hungary, Auſtria, and ſeveral other provinces, were deſolated; and the dreadful Alaric was bending his deſtructive courſe towards Rome itſelf, at the head of an infinite multitude of Goths, Vandals, Alans, and other fierce barbarians. In this extremity, the troops which had lately been ſent into this iſland were recalled. The incurſions of the Scots and Picts, which immediately followed, were not the worſt conſequences of this meaſure. For a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion ſeizing the Roman troops which were conſtantly ſtationed in Britain, they laid aſide all regard to the reigning emperor, and inveſted one of their own officers, named Marcus, with the purple. But they ſoon became weary of this idol of their own erection, pulled him down, put him to death, and ſet up one Gratian in his room. Nor did the ſecond choice anſwer their expectations, or continue long in their good graces; and in leſs than four months after his elevation, they depoſed and murdered him[190]. Still perſiſting in their rebellious diſpoſitions, and becoming quite wanton

A.D. 403. Marcus Gratian, and Conſtantine, ſucceſſively made emperors by the army in Britain.

A.D. 407.

Movit, et infeſto ſpumavit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timorem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremorem, nec littore toto
Proſpicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.
Claud. in laud. Stil.

190 Zoſim. l. 6. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 11.

A.D. 407. and capricious in their conduct, they next ſet up one Conſtantine, an officer of inferior rank, merely, as it is ſaid, on account of his bearing the beloved and auſpicious name of Conſtantine.

A.D. 408. This perſon, being either more capable or more fortunate, made a much greater figure than his two ſhort-lived predeceſſors. To keep his troops employed, and prevent their cabaling againſt his perſon or authority, he meditated an expedition into Gaul. In order to this, he enliſted great numbers of the Britiſh youth, and having trained them to the uſe of arms, he tranſported them to the continent, together with the beſt of his regular troops. The firſt undertakings of this adventurer were crowned with remarkable ſucceſs. He got poſſeſſion of the two rich and extenſive provinces of Gaul and Spain, declared his eldeſt ſon Conſtans (who had been a monk) his colleague, and fixed the ſeat of his empire at Arles, which he named Conſtantia. But this gale of proſperity was not of long continuance. For having failed in his attempt upon Italy, and quarrelled with his beſt friend Gerontius, his affairs declined faſter than they had advanced. His ſon Conſtans was intercepted and ſlain by Gerontius, at Vienne in Gaul, and ſhutting himſelf up in his capital city of Arles, he was taken and put to death in September, A. D. 411 [191]. The Britiſh youth who had followed Conſtantine into Gaul, retired into Britanny after his death, and there met with

[191] Sozomen, l. 9, c. 11, 12, 13, 14.

a kind

a kind reception from their countrymen, amongſt whom they ſettled [192]. A.D. 408.

After the death of the uſurper Conſtantine, the Roman province in Britain returned to the obedience of the emperor Honorius, who ſent Victorinus with ſome troops for its recovery and defence. This general ſtruck terror into all his enemies in this iſland, and merited the poetical encomium below [193]. But the increaſing diſtreſſes of the empire obliged Honorius to recal Victorinus, with all his troops, out of the Roman province in this iſland, and to leave it in a very defenceleſs ſtate; occaſioned not only by the departure of theſe troops, but alſo by the late great emigrations of the Britiſh youth, with the two uſurpers, Maximus and Conſtantine. A.D. 412. Roman army recalled from Britain.

As ſoon as the Scots and Picts received intelligence that the Romans had withdrawn their ſtanding army out of Britain, they prepared to invade the territories of the provincial Britons, hoping to meet with little oppoſition. But on this occaſion they found themſelves miſtaken, and met with a warmer reception than they expected. For though the regular forces of the Romans were gone, there were ſtill many veteran ſoldiers and others, who having obtained houſes and lands in the ſeveral colonies, were unwilling to abandon them; and the Britons, encouraged A.D. 414. The other Romans leave Britain.

[192] Speed's Chron. p. 280.

[193] Conſcius oceanus virtutum, conſcia Thule,
Et quæcunque ferox arva Britannus arat. Rutilius Claud.

A.D. 414. and aſſiſted by theſe veterans, took up arms, and repulſed the invaders [194]. Theſe incurſions, however, being conſtantly renewed for ſeveral years, rendered the country equally uncomfortable and unſafe, and pointed out the neceſſity of ſome more powerful protection. Application was accordingly made to Rome for aſſiſtance; but Honorius being ſtill involved in great difficulties, aſſured them that he could grant them none; gave up all his claims to their allegiance, and exhorted them to defend themſelves. The Romans, who ſtill remained in Britain, diſcouraged by this reply, and deſpairing of ever enjoying any tranquillity in a country ſubject to continual incurſions, diſpoſed of their eſtates, and carrying with them their money and effects, retired to the continent [195].

A.D. 416. The Britons invaded by the Scots and Picts, obtain a legion from the Romans.

The provincial Britons were now in a more dangerous condition than ever, having loſt not only the flower of their own youth, and the Roman regular forces, but even thoſe few Romans who had lingered ſome time longer amongſt them, and by their encouragement, example, and aſſiſtance, had enabled them to make ſome defence againſt their enemies. Beſides this, both their civil and military government were now diſſolved; and by the policy of the Romans, they had been long deprived of the uſe and exerciſe of arms; ſo that they now remained a timid diſorderly multitude, ready to become an eaſy

[194] Zozim. l. 6. [195] Id. Ibid.

prey

prey to the firſt bold invader. Nor was it long before they were invaded. For their dangerous and vigilant neighbours, the Scots and Picts, informed of their helpleſs ſtate, renewed their incurſions; and meeting with little reſiſtance, they puſhed them further, and with greater ferocity than uſual. Theſe two nations, paſſing the firths of Forth and Clyde, overrun and plundered the whole province of Valentia, between the walls of Antoninus and Severus, and threatened the other provinces with the ſame fate. In this extremity, the unhappy Britons diſpatched meſſengers to Rome, who repreſented the deplorable ſtate of their country, in the moſt affecting terms, to the emperor Honorius, earneſtly implored his protection, and promiſed the moſt cheerful ſubmiſſion to his authority. The emperor, moved by their entreaties, and being more at leiſure than formerly, by the expulſion of the Goths out of Gaul, and ſome other favourable events, ſent over one legion to the aſſiſtance of the Britons. This legion arriving unexpectedly, and falling upon the Scots and Picts as they were ſtraggling about the country in queſt of plunder, ſlew great numbers of them, and obliged the reſt to retire with precipitation beyond their firths. The Romans, having thus performed the ſervice for which they were ſent, and exhorted the Britons to repair the walls of Antoninus Pius, between the firths of Forth and Clyde, to protect them againſt the future attempts A.D. 416.

A. D. 416. of their enemies, they returned in triumph to the continent[196].

A. D. 418. The wall of Antoninus, having been originally built of turf, and now repaired with the ſame materials, proved but a very ſlender ſecurity to the country within it, on this occaſion. For as ſoon as the Scots and Picts were informed of the departure of the Roman legion, they prepared for a repetition of their inroads. Some of them paſſed the firths in their little boats, while others made their way over the wall, and all of them together, pouring like an irreſiſtible torrent into the country of the provincial Britons, bore down all before them. The wretched inhabitants, ſeeing nothing but inevitable deſtruction before their eyes, from which they were unable to defend themſelves, had again recourſe to Rome for protection. Their ambaſſadors, it is ſaid, appeared before the emperor with their garments rent, aſhes upon their heads, and all the marks of the moſt deep diſtreſs; they painted the miſery of their country in the moſt lively colours, and with many cries and tears implored aſſiſtance; that the Roman name might not become contemptible in Britain, and that thoſe provinces, which had flouriſhed ſo long under their protection, might not be utterly deſtroyed. Theſe importunate ſupplications proved effectual, and the emperor ſent a ſecond legion into Britain, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna.

The Britons obtained the aſſiſtance of a legion a ſecond time from the Romans.

[196] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 12. Chron. p. 26. Gildæ Hiſt. p. 11, 12.

This

This legion arrived ſuddenly in autumn, and A D 418.
again ſurpriſed and defeated the plundering Picts and Scots, killing great numbers of them, and obliging thoſe who eſcaped to take ſhelter behind their firths, in thoſe woods and mountains whither they had been accuſtomed to convey their annual booty. This victorious legion A. D. 419.
did not return ſo ſoon to the continent as the former had done, but remained ſome time in South Britain, to put that country in a better poſture of defence, againſt the future attacks of its reſtleſs and ever returning enemies. Being now convinced that it was impoſſible to render the wall of Antoninus an effectual barrier, becauſe the enemies ſo eaſily paſſed the firths in their curroghs, and landed within it; that wall was ſlighted, and the whole province of Valentia was given up, in order to ſecure the reſt more effectually. With this view, the wall of Severus, which had fallen to decay, through the injuries of time, and of the enemy, was thoroughly repaired, by the united labours of the legion and the provincial Britons, with ſolid ſtone and lime. The expence of this great work was born by the cheerful contributions of many private perſons, and of the ſeveral Britiſh ſtates, who conſidered it as one of the chief means of their future ſafety. But as walls and bulwarks are of little uſe, without brave, expert, and well-armed ſoldiers to defend them, the Roman general gave the Britons exact models of all the ſeveral kinds of arms, with ample inſtructions how to make and uſe them; exhorting

A. D. 419. exhorting them to act bravely in defence of their country, their wives, children, and liberties. He represented to them, that they were not inferior to their enemies in bodily strength, or any natural endowment, and that they needed only to rouse their native courage, and exert a proper spirit, to bid defiance to their dreaded adversaries. Gallio having finished all the works which were thought necessary for the defence of the northern frontiers against the Picts and Scots,

A.D.420. marched into the South, where his fleet lay; and because these coasts were sometimes infested by the Franks and Saxons, he there built several castles, at proper intervals, with extensive prospects towards the sea, for the security of these parts. After having confered all these benefits, this great general honestly acquainted the Britons, that they were to expect no further assistance from the Romans, whose affairs would no longer permit them to undertake any more of these troublesome expeditions for their relief: and then, this last Roman legion setting sail, they bid a final adieu to Britain, about four hundred and seventy-five years after their ancestors had first landed in it, under the conduct of Julius Cæsar [197].

A.D.421. We are now come to that calamitous period which intervened between the final departure of the Romans, and the arrival of the Saxons. But since this is certainly one of the most melancholy

History of Britain from the final departure of

197 Bedæ Hist. Eccles. c. 12. Gildæ Hist. c. 13, 14.

periods

periods of the Britiſh hiſtory, and ſince the accounts which we have of theſe unhappy times are as imperfect as they are uncomfortable, it will not be proper to dwell long upon them. A. D. 421. the Romans to the arrival of the Saxons.

The provincial Britons were now left in the full and free poſſeſſion of a large, rich, and beautiful country, adorned with many noble monuments of Roman art and induſtry; crowded with cities, towns, and villages, united to one another by the moſt ſubſtantial roads; and the whole defended by a ſtupendous wall, which hath been the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. But notwithſtanding all this ſeeming proſperity, they were a very diſconſolate and unhappy people. They were ſo far from rejoicing in the recovery of their freedom, that they conſidered the retreat of their lordly maſters as a great misfortune; and beheld the departure of the Romans with more diſmay, than their brave anceſtors had beheld their firſt approach. Conſcious of their own unwarlike character, of their diſunited and unſettled ſtate, their imaginations were haunted with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of their ferocious enemies. State of the Britons.

Nor was it long before the apprehenſions of the wretched Britons were realized. For when the Scots and Picts had received intelligence that the Romans were gone out of the iſland, with a reſolution never to return, they iſſued from their woods and mountains with great confidence, and in greater numbers than they ever had done before. Finding the wall of Antonínus unguarded, A. D. 422. Scots and Picts plunder the country between the walls.

A. D. 422. guarded, and the province of Valentia abandoned, they overrun it without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance or oppoſition. Had it been their deſign to acquire new and more comfortable habitations, in a better ſoil and climate, they might have ſettled peaceably in this large and fine country, between the two walls. But, like their anceſtors the Caledonians, their incurſions were made, not ſo much with a view to conqueſt as to plunder, which they carried home, and enjoyed with the higheſt reliſh amongſt their own hills. For ſeveral years ſucceſſively they waſted and plundered this diſtrict which had fallen into their hands, carrying home for their winter's proviſion what they could not conſume upon the ſpot [198].

A. D. 426. Scots and Picts break through Severus's wall.

The country which lay between the walls being at length ſo deſolated, that it afforded no more booty to the deſtroyers, they began to meditate an incurſion into the rich and yet untouched provinces beyond the wall of Severus. When they approached this bulwark, they found it completely repaired, its turrets, forts, and caſtles filled with garriſons, and its ramparts crowded with armed men, who ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to all who dared to advance within their reach. But all this was formidable only in appearance. For the Britons had profited ſo little by the military inſtructions of their late maſters, that, inſtead of planting proper guards and centinels, and relieving one another, their whole

[198] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 12. Gildæ Hiſt. c. 13, 14.

number

number had ſtood ſeveral days and nights upon the ramparts, without intermiſſion. By this means their limbs were quite benumbed with cold, fatigue, and faſting; and the Scots and Picts found very little danger in attacking ſuch torpid adverſaries; who ſuffered themſelves to be pulled down from the wall with hooks, and daſhed againſt the ground. In a word, after a very faint reſiſtance, the Britons abandoned the wall, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. But the Scots and Picts breaking in, like hungry wolves into a ſheep-fold, purſued them with great ſlaughter, plundered the country, and returned home loaden with booty. In the ſame manner did theſe unwelcome gueſts repeat their deſtructive viſits for ſeveral years, to the unſpeakable terror and damage of the wretched Britons [199]. A.D. 426.

Even theſe pernicious incurſions were not the only troubles with which the unhappy Britons were now afflicted. Deſtitute of order, law, and government, civil rage and rapine prevailed in every corner; and they are ſaid to have diſcovered much more ſpirit in robbing and deſtroying one another, than in defending themſelves againſt the common enemy. After the diſſolution of the Roman government, many petty tyrants were ſet up in different parts of the country; and ſoon after pulled down and put to death, to make room for others ſtill more flagi- A.D. 436. Internal confuſion, famine, and peſtilence.

[199] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 12. Gildæ Hiſt. c. 13, 14.

tious.

A. D. 436. tious. Great numbers of the inhabitants, driven to deſpair by ſo many miſeries, neglected to plough and ſow their lands, forſook their houſes, and roaming up and down in the woods, led a ſavage kind of life, on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, and what they could catch in hunting. To crown the whole, this neglect of agriculture naturally produced a famine, which was followed by a peſtilence; and theſe two dreadful ſcourges put an end at once to the lives and ſufferings of great multitudes of the unhappy Britons [200].

A. D. 440. Theſe dire calamities, which ſeemed to threaten South Britain with utter ruin and depopulation, were productive of one happy conſequence. The Scots and Picts, dreading infection, and the efforts of the deſperate Britons, which had been fatal to many of them, and finding little plunder in a land of famine, deſiſted from their incurſions, and remained quiet at home for ſeveral years. Encouraged by this unexpected return of tranquillity, the Britons iſſued from their lurking-places, repaired their houſes, and applied to agriculture. Their lands, meeting with friendly ſeaſons, after ſo many years of reſt, produced all kinds of grain in a degree of abundance hitherto unknown; and the late famine was ſucceeded by the greateſt affluence and plenty of all things. But the Britons of thoſe times (if we may believe their own hiſtorian Gildas) were as unfit for

200 Gildæ Hiſt. c. 16, 19, 21.

proſperity

proſperity as adverſity. Forgetting their former woes, and regardleſs of future dangers, they plunged, with the moſt unthinking wantonneſs, into intemperance and debauchery of all kinds. However, it was not long before they were awakened from this pleaſing dream. For their ancient enemies in the North, having heard of the prodigious plenty which reigned in South Britain, renewed their incurſions, and repeating them for ſeveral years, reduced the Britons almoſt to the ſame diſtreſs from which they had ſo lately emerged [201]. A.D. 440.

The declaration of the Romans at their laſt departure, that they were never to return, had been ſo poſitive, and the confuſions of the empire ever ſince that time had been ſo great, that the Britons, in all the late miſeries, had not made any application to them for relief. But the fame of the renowned Ætius, præfect of Gaul, affording them a glimmering of hope that they might poſſibly obtain ſome aſſiſtance from that quarter in their preſent diſtreſs, they ſent ambaſſadors to that general, with letters, in the following mournful ſtrain: "To Ætius, thrice conſul, the "groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive "us to the ſea, the ſea throws us back on the "ſwords of the barbarians; ſo that we have no-"thing left us but the wretched choice of being "either drowned or butchered." But all their lamentations and intreaties, on this occaſion, A.D. 446. Britons apply to the Romans for aſſiſtance in vain.

201 Gildæ Hiſt. c. 16, 19, 21. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 14.

A.D. 446. were in vain. Ætius might pity, but he could not aſſiſt them; being at that time employed in collecting all his forces, to reſiſt the terrible Attila, king of the Hunns, who threatened the total deſtruction of the weſtern empire [202].

A.D. 449. Britons ſend ambaſſadors to the Saxons.

Soon after the Britons had been thus diſappointed in their expectations of ſuccours from the Romans, they received a new alarm, which filled them with the greateſt conſternation. The incurſions of the Scots and Picts, however deſtructive, had hitherto been only tranſient. As ſoon as thoſe ravagers had collected a ſufficient quantity of booty, they returned with it into their own country, leaving the owners to enjoy the reſt in ſome tranquillity. But a report was now propagated, that theſe two nations had reſolved to invade South Britain with their united forces, to extirpate the nations, and ſettle in the country. This report, whether true or falſe, being generally believed, cauſed the greateſt terror and diſmay. An aſſembly of all the Britiſh kings, princes, and chieftains was convened, to deliberate what was proper to be done, to prevent ſo great a danger. Amongſt the great number of petty princes, which compoſed this aſſembly, Vortigern, ſovereign of the Silures, was the moſt conſiderable. This prince, on account of the extent of his dominions, the number and bravery of his followers, and his own perſonal accompliſhments, ſeems to have

[202] Gildæ Hiſt. c. 19. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 13.

acted

acted the part of a kind of univerſal monarch over the other chiefs. By his authority this aſſembly was called, he preſided in it, and too much influenced its deciſions. Inſtead of embracing vigorous meaſures, worthy of ſo many chieftains, to depend upon their own bravery for their ſecurity, the only queſtion was, to whom they ſhould apply for aſſiſtance and protection. It was in vain to make any further applications to the Romans; nor was it eaſy to find any other nation able and willing to give them the aſſiſtance which they wanted. When they were at this loſs, Vortigern, in an evil hour, though not perhaps with any ill intention, propoſed to make application to the Saxons. That nation abounded in ſhipping, delighted in war, and equalled, if not exceeded, their enemies in ferocity. The Britons had often experienced the bravery of the Saxons to their coſt, and therefore thought it good policy to employ it in their defence; never reflecting that theſe dangerous protectors might become their enemies, and at laſt their maſters. In the end, the propoſal of Vortigern was embraced, and ambaſſadors appointed to go and invite an army of Saxons into this iſland, to aſſiſt the Britons of the South againſt their northern neighbours [203]. The names of theſe ambaſſadors are not preſerved in hiſtory; but (if we can depend on the hiſtorian of the Saxons) their ad- A.D. 449.

[203] Gildæ Hiſt. c. 22, 23. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 15.

A.D. 449. dreſs to that people was in the following humble, or rather abject ſtrain [204]:

Speech of the Britiſh ambaſſadors to the Saxons, and their arrival in Britain.

"Moſt noble Saxons, the wretched and miſerable Britons, worn out by the perpetual incurſions of their enemies, having heard of the many glorious victories which you have obtained by your valour, have ſent us their humble ſuppliants to implore your aſſiſtance and protection. We have a ſpacious, beautiful, and fertile country, abounding in all things, which we reſign to your devotion and command. Formerly we lived in peace and ſafety under the protection of the Romans; and next to them, knowing none more brave and powerful than you, we fly for refuge under the wings of your valour. If by your powerful aſſiſtance we ſhall become ſuperior to our enemies, we promiſe to perform whatever ſervice you ſhall think fit to impoſe upon us." If the Britons were really capable of making uſe of ſuch ſlaviſh language, they had little reaſon to complain afterwards of the treachery of the Saxons, or to expect any better treatment from them than they met with. But it is more probable, that this ſpeech, like many others in hiſtory, was compoſed by the hiſtorian, than by thoſe to whom it is imputed.

In whatever manner the Britiſh ambaſſadors addreſſed themſelves to the Saxons, they were

[204] Witichindus.

unhappily

unhappily ſucceſsful in their negociation; and a ſmall army of that nation was immediately ſent into Britain, which was afterwards followed by ſeveral others. Theſe Saxons armies, inſtead of protecting the Britons againſt their enemies, either deſtroyed, enſlaved, or expelled them; and ſeating themſelves in their room, brought about another great revolution in the ſtate of South Britain; which will be the ſubject of the ſecond book of this work. A. D. 449.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

The history of Religion in South Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

SECTION I.

HISTORY of DRUIDISM.

THERE never was any nation upon earth, whose history is entitled to any degree of attention, which had not some religion. Nor was there ever any religion which had not some influence upon the minds and manners, the actions and characters of those nations by whom it was professed. For these two reasons, the history of their religion must always be an important

Importance of religion.

ant and eſſential part of the hiſtory of every nation: as without ſome knowledge of this, and of the events immediately relating to it, we cannot form right conceptions of the laws, cuſtoms, characters, circumſtances, and public tranſactions of any people.

Ancient Britons famous for religion.

When the Romans firſt invaded Britain, under Julius Cæſar, the inhabitants of it were famous, even among foreign nations, for their ſuperior knowledge of the principles, and their great zeal for the rites of their religion. This circumſtance we learn from the beſt authority, the writings of that illuſtrious and obſerving general, Julius Cæſar; who informs us, "That ſuch of the Gauls as "were deſirous of being thoroughly inſtructed in "the principles of their religion (which was the "ſame with that of the Britons) uſually took a "journey into Britain, for that purpoſe [1]."

Antiquity of the religion of the Britons.

This religion, in the knowledge of which the Britons of that age ſo much excelled, could juſtly boaſt of very high antiquity. The firſt and pureſt principles of it at leaſt deſcended to them together with their language, and many other things, from Gomer the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, from whom the Gauls, Britons, and all the other Celtic nations derived their origin [2]. For it is not to be imagined that this renowned parent of ſo many nations, who was only the grandſon of

[1] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

[2] Pezron. Antiq. Celt. c. 3. Hotoman. Franc. Gal. c. 2.

Noah,

Noah, could be unacquainted with the knowledge of the true God, and of the moſt eſſential principles of religion; or that he neglected to communicate this knowledge to his immediate deſcendants, and they to their poſterity from age to age. But unhappily, the method by which this religious knowledge was handed down from Gomer to his numerous poſterity in ſucceeding ages, was not well calculated to preſerve it pure and uncorrupted. This was by tradition, which, however limpid it may be near its fountain-head, is, like other ſtreams, very apt to ſwell and become turbid in its progreſs. Accordingly we find, that at the period where this hiſtory begins, the religion of the ancient Britons had degenerated into an abſurd, wicked, and cruel ſuperſtition.

Method of delineating this religion.

In delineating this very corrupt ſyſtem of religion, it will be ſufficient to give a brief account—Of its prieſts, who taught its principles, and performed its ſacred rites—Of the religious principles which they taught—Of the deities whom they worſhipped—Of the various acts of worſhip which they paid to theſe deities, with their times, places, and other circumſtances—And finally, of the extinction of theſe prieſts, and of their religion, to make way for a more pure and heavenly inſtitution.

Britiſh prieſts, their dignity.

The prieſts who taught the principles, and performed the offices of religion among the ancient Britons

Britons were called Druids[3]. This claſs of men, for many ages, enjoyed the higheſt honours, and the greateſt privileges, in this iſland and in ſeveral other countries. "There are only two "orders of men," ſays Cæſar, ſpeaking of the Gauls, and it was the ſame in Britain, "who "are in any high degree of honour and eſteem; "theſe are the Druids and the nobles[4]." To ſay nothing in this place of their prodigious influence in civil affairs, they had the ſupreme and ſole direction of every thing relating to religion. "No ſacred rite was ever performed without a "Druid; by them, as being the favourites of "the Gods, and depoſitaries of their counſels, "the people offered all their ſacrifices, thankſ-"givings, and prayers; and were perfectly ſub-"miſſive and obedient to their commands. Nay, "ſo great was the veneration in which they were "held, that when two hoſtile armies, inflamed

[3] The name of theſe famous prieſts is derived by ſome writers from the Teutonic word Druthin, a ſervant of truth*: by others from the Saxon word Dry, a magician†: by others from the Greek word δρυς, an oak ‡; and by others, with the greateſt probability, from the Celtic or Britiſh word Derw, which alſo ſignifies an oak §; for which the Druids had a moſt ſuperſtitious veneration. This laſt derivation is much countenanced by a paſſage in Diodorus Siculus, who, ſpeaking of the philoſophers and prieſts of Gaul, the ſame with our Druids, ſays they were called Saronidæ, from Σαρον, the Greek name of an oak ‖.

[4] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

* M'Pherſon's Diſſertations, p. 3, 1. † Spelman. Gloſſ.
‡ Plin. l. 16. c. 44. § Dickenſon Delphi Phœnicizantes, p. 188.
‖ Diod. Sicul. l. 5.

" with warlike rage, with ſwords drawn, and ſpears " extended, were on the point of engaging in " battle; at their intervention, they ſheathed their " ſwords, and became calm and peaceful [5]." The perſons of the Druids were held ſacred and inviolable; they were exempted from all taxes and military ſervices; and, in a word, they enjoyed ſo many immunities and diſtinctions, that princes were ambitious of being admitted into their ſociety [6].

Arch-druid.

The Druids were not all of equal rank and dignity. Cæſar ſays that ſome of them were more eminent than others, and that the whole order was ſubject to one ſupreme head or Archdruid. This high-prieſt was elected from amongſt the moſt eminent Druids, by a plurality of votes. But this high ſtation was attended with ſo much power and riches, with ſo many honours and privileges of various kinds, that it was an object of great ambition, and the election of one to fill it, ſometimes occaſioned a civil war [7].

Three claſſes of Druids.

The Druids were alſo divided into three different claſſes, who applied to different branches of learning, and performed different parts in the offices of religion. Theſe three claſſes were, the Bards, the Euhages or Vates, and Druids: which laſt name was frequently given to the whole

5 Dio. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354. Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

6 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Cicero de Divinatione, l. 1. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

7 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

order,

order, though it was alſo ſometimes appropriated to a particular claſs [8].

1ſt claſs. The bards were the heroic, hiſtorical, and genealogical poets of Germany, Gaul, and Britain. They did not properly belong to the prieſtly order, nor had they any immediate concern with the offices of religion. On the contrary, they carefully abſtained from introducing any thing of a religious nature into their poems; and therefore they will fall more naturally under our conſideration in another place [9].

2d claſs. Thoſe of the ſecond claſs were called by the Greeks, Ουατις; by the Romans, Vates; and by the Gauls and Britons, Faids. They were unqueſtionably of the prieſthood, and performed an important part in the public offices of religion; by compoſing hymns in honour of the Gods, which they ſung to the muſic of their harps and other inſtruments, at the ſacred ſolemnities! They were, in a word, the ſacred muſicians, the religious poets, and pretended prophets of all the Celtic nations, who believed them to be divinely inſpired in their poetical compoſitions, and alſo bleſſed with revelations from Heaven, concerning the nature of things, the will of the Gods, and future events. The Latin poets were not unacquainted with this diſtinction between the mere ſecular Bard or Poet and the divine Vates; or of the great ſuperiority of the latter above the

[8] Diod. Sicul. l. 5. Strabo, l. 4. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 15.
[9] See chap. 5th, of poetry.

former,

former. This appears from the verſes quoted below; in which Lycidas aſſumes the name of Poet as his right, but declines the more honourable title of Vates, which was given him by the ſhepherds, as too high a compliment [10]. With theſe religious poets and pretended prophets, both Gaul and Britain very much abounded, in the times we are now conſidering, as we learn from the concurrent teſtimonies of Strabo, Diodorus, and Marcellinus [11]: and a modern writer, of great authority in theſe matters, aſſures us, that there are ſome families ſtill ſubſiſting, both in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, which bear their name, and are probably deſcended from ſome of theſe once celebrated Faids [12].

The Druids, who compoſed the third, or to ſpeak more properly, the ſecond claſs of the ancient Britiſh prieſthood, were by far the moſt numerous, and therefore the whole order was commonly called by that name. They performed all the offices of religion, except that part which we have juſt now obſerved was allotted to the preceding claſs; and it is even probable, that in the abſence of the Faids, they performed that part alſo, and aſſiſted in it when they were preſent, 3d claſs.

[10] . . . . . et me fecere poetam
Pierides, ſunt et mihi carmina; me quoque dicunt
Vatem paſtores, ſed non ego credulus illis.
Virgil. Eclog. 9. ver 32.

[11] Strabo, l. 4. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 15.

[12] Macpherſon's Diſſertations, p. 203.

Many

Manner of living.

Many of the Druids ſeem to have lived a kind of collegiate or monaſtic life, united together in fraternities, as Marcellinus expreſſes it. The ſervice of each temple required a conſiderable number of them, and all theſe lived together near the temple where they ſerved. The Arch-druid of Britain is thought to have had his ordinary reſidence in the iſle of Angleſey, where he lived in great ſplendour and magnificence for thoſe times, ſurrounded by a great number of the moſt eminent perſons of his order. In this iſle, it is pretended, the veſtiges of the Arch-druid's palaces, and of the houſes of the other Druids, who attended him, are ſtill viſible [13]. But not a few of the Druids led a more ſecular and public way of life, in the courts of princes and families of great men, to perform the duties of their function. For no ſacred rite or act of religion could be performed without a Druid, either in temples or in private houſes. Nor does it ſeem improbable, that ſome of theſe ancient prieſts retired from the world, and from the ſocieties of their brethren, and lived as hermits, in order to acquire a greater reputation of ſanctity. In the moſt unfrequented places of ſome of the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, there are ſtill remaining the foundations of ſmall circular houſes, capable of containing only one perſon, which are called by the people of the country Druids houſes [14]. None

[13] Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 83, &c. &c.

[14] Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſles, p. 154.

of

of theſe ways of life ſeem to be very ſuitable to a married ſtate, and it is therefore probable that the far greateſt part of the Druids lived in celibacy, and were waited upon by a ſet of female devotees, who will preſently be deſcribed.

Revenues.

It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to diſcover particularly what were the revenues of the ancient Britiſh Druids. In general we may conclude that they were as great as the people could afford, conſidering the ſuperſtitious veneration which they entertained for their perſons, and the implicit obedience which they paid to their dictates. It is never difficult for thoſe who have once obtained the entire direction of men's conſciences, to ſecure to themſelves a conſiderable portion of their poſſeſſions. The Druids ſeem to have had the ſuperiority, if not the entire property of certain iſlands on the coaſt both of England and Scotland; as Angleſey, Man, Harris, &c. and it is highly probable that they had alſo territories in different parts of the continent, near their ſeveral temples. There can be no doubt, that a great part of the offerings which were brought to their ſacred places, and preſented to their Gods, fell to their ſhare. Theſe offerings were very frequent, and on ſome occaſions very great. It was a common practice with the nations of Gaul and Britain, to dedicate all the cattle, and other ſpoils which they had taken in war, to that deity by whoſe aſſiſtance they imagined they had gained the victory [15]. Of theſe

[15] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. Athen. l. 4.

devoted

devoted ſpoils the prieſts were at leaſt the adminiſtrators, if not the proprietors. They were frequently conſulted, both by ſtates and private perſons, about the ſucceſs of intended enterpriſes, and other future events; and were well rewarded for the good fortune which they promiſed, and the ſecrets of futurity which they pretended to reveal [16]. To ſay nothing here of the profits which they derived from the adminiſtration of juſtice, the practice of phyſic, and teaching the ſciences (which were all in their hands), they certainly received great emoluments from thoſe whom they inſtructed in the principles, and initiated into the myſteries of their theology; eſpecially from ſuch of them as were of high rank, and came from foreign countries. Beſides this (if we can depend upon a tradition mentioned by ſeveral writers) there were certain annual dues (we know not what they were) exacted from every family by the prieſts of that temple within whoſe diſtrict the family dwelt; and theſe artful prieſts had invented a moſt effectual method to ſecure the punctual payment of theſe dues. All theſe families were obliged (under the dreadful penalties of excommunication) to extinguiſh their fires on the laſt evening of October, and to attend at the temple with their annual payment; and the firſt day of November to receive ſome of the ſacred fire from the altar, to rekindle thoſe in their houſes. By this con-

[16] Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. l. 2. c. 31.

trivance,

trivance, they were obliged to pay, or to be deprived of the uſe of fire, at the approach of winter, when the want of it would be moſt ſenſibly felt. If any of their friends or neighbours took pity on the delinquents, and ſupplied them with fire, or even converſed with them, they were laid under the ſame terrible ſentence of excommunication, by which they were not only excluded from all the ſacred ſolemnities, but from all the ſweets of ſociety, and all the benefits of law and juſtice [17]. From theſe ſources of wealth which we have mentioned (and perhaps they had others to us unknown), we have reaſon to think, that the Britiſh Druids were the moſt opulent, as well as the moſt reſpected body of men in their country, in the times in which they flouriſhed.

Numbers.

Nothing can be affirmed with certainty, concerning the preciſe number of the Britiſh Druids: though, in general, we have reaſon to believe, that they were very numerous. Both the Gauls and Britons of theſe times were much addicted to ſuperſtition: and among a ſuperſtitious people there will always be many prieſts. Beſides this, they entertained an opinion, as we are told by Strabo, which was highly favourable to the increaſe of the prieſtly order. They were fully perſuaded, that the greater number of Druids they had in their country, they would obtain the more plentiful harveſts, and the greater abun-

[17] Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, p. 71, 72. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

dance of all things[18]. Nay, we are directly informed by Cæſar, that great numbers of people, allured by the honours and privileges which they enjoyed, embraced the diſcipline of the Druids of their own accord, and that many more were dedicated to it by their parents[19]. Upon the whole, therefore, we ſhall probably not be very much miſtaken, if we ſuppoſe, that the Britiſh Druids bore as great a proportion in number to the reſt of the people, as the clergy in popiſh countries bear to the laity, in the preſent age.

Druideſſes. Beſides the Druids, the Britons had alſo Druideſſes, who aſſiſted in the offices, and ſhared in the honours and emoluments of the prieſthood. When Suetonius invaded the iſland of Angleſey, his ſoldiers were ſtruck with terror at the ſtrange appearance of a great number of theſe conſecrated females, who ran up and down among the ranks of the Britiſh army, like enraged furies, with their hairs diſhevelled, and flaming torches in their hands, imprecating the wrath of Heaven on the invaders of their country[20]. The Druideſſes of Gaul and Britain are ſaid to have been divided into three ranks or claſſes. Thoſe of the firſt claſs had vowed perpetual virginity, and lived together in ſiſterhoods, very much ſequeſtered from the world. They were great pretenders to divination, prophecy, and miracles; were highly admired by the people, who con-

[18] Strabo, l. 4.
[19] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.
[20] Tacit. Annal. l. 14.

ſulted

ſulted them on all important occaſions as infallible oracles, and gave them the honourable appellation of Senæ, i. e. venerable women. Mela gives a curious deſcription of one of theſe Druidical nunneries. It was ſituated in an iſland in the Britiſh ſea, and contained nine of theſe venerable veſtals, who pretended that they could raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts by their incantations; could cure the moſt incurable diſeaſes; could transform themſelves into all kinds of animals; and foreſee future events. But it ſeems they were not very forward in publiſhing the things which they foreſaw, but choſe to make ſome advantage of ſo valuable a gift. For, it is added, they diſcloſed the things which they had diſcovered, to none but thoſe who came into their iſland on ſet purpoſe to conſult their oracle [21]: and none of theſe, we may ſuppoſe, would come empty-handed. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of certain female devotees, who were indeed married, but ſpent the far greateſt part of their time in the company of the Druids, and in the offices of religion; and converſed only occaſionally with their huſbands; who perhaps thought themſelves very happy in having ſuch pious wives. The third claſs of Druideſſes was the loweſt, and conſiſted of ſuch as performed the moſt ſervile offices about the temples, the ſacrifices, and the perſons of the Druids [22].

[21] Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

[22] Gruteſ. p. 62. Relig. de Gaul. l. 1. c. 27.

Such were the miniſters and teachers of religion among the ancient Britons. It is now time to enquire, what were the religious principles and opinions which they taught.

Twofold doctrine of the Druids.

The Druids, as well as the Gymnoſophiſts of India, the Magi of Perſia, the Chaldeans of Aſſyria, and all the other prieſts of antiquity, had two ſets of religious doctrines and opinions, which were very different from one another. The one of theſe ſyſtems they communicated only to the initiated, who were admitted into their own order, and at their admiſſion were ſolemnly ſworn to keep that ſyſtem of doctrines a profound ſecret from all the reſt of mankind[23]. Beſides this, they took ſeveral other precautions to prevent theſe ſecret doctrines from tranſpiring. They taught their diſciples, as we are told by Mela, in the moſt private places, ſuch as caves of the earth, or the deepeſt receſſes of the thickeſt foreſts, that they might not be overheard by any who were not initiated[24]. They never committed any of theſe doctrines to writing, for fear they ſhould thereby become public[25]. Nay, ſo jealous were ſome orders of theſe ancient prieſts on this head, that they made it an inviolable rule never to communicate any of theſe ſecret doctrines to women, leſt they ſhould blab them[26]. The other ſyſtem of religious doctrines and opinions

[23] Mela, l. 3. c. 2. Diogen. Laert. in proem.
[24] Mela, l. 3. c. 2. Lucan. l. 1.
[25] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.
[26] Strabo, l. 15.

was

was made public, being adapted to the capacities and ſuperſtitious humours of the people, and calculated to promote the honour and opulence of the prieſthood.

Secret doctrines of the Druids.

It cannot be expected that we ſhould be able to give a minute detail of the ſecret doctrines of the Druids. The Greek and Roman writers, from whom alone we can receive information, were not perfectly acquainted with them, and therefore they have left us only ſome general hints, and probable conjectures about them, with which we muſt be contented. The ſecret doctrines of our Druids were much the ſame with thoſe of the Gymnoſophiſts and Brachmans of India, the Magi of Perſia, the Chaldeans of Aſſyria, the prieſts of Egypt, and of all the other prieſts of antiquity. All theſe are frequently joined together by ancient authors, as entertaining the ſame opinions in religion and philoſophy; which might be eaſily confirmed by an induction of particulars[27]. The truth is, there is hardly any thing more ſurpriſing in the hiſtory of mankind, than the ſimilitude, or rather identity, of the opinions, inſtitutions, and manners of all theſe orders of ancient prieſts, though they lived under ſuch different climates, and at ſo great a diſtance from one another, without intercourſe or communication. This amounts to a demonſtration, that all theſe opinions and inſtitutions flowed originally from one fountain;

[27] Mela, Strabo, Diod. Sicul. Diogen. Laert. &c.

the inſtructions which the ſons of Noah gave to their immediate deſcendants, and they to their poſterity; many of which were carefully preſerved and handed down through a long ſucceſſion of ages, by an order of men in every nation ſet apart for that purpoſe. Though theſe ſtreams of religious knowledge therefore flowed through different channels, into very diſtant countries, yet they long retained a ſtrong tincture of their original fountain. The ſecret doctrines of the Druids, and of all theſe different orders of prieſts, were more agreeable to primitive tradition and right reaſon, than their public doctrines; as they were not under any temptation, in their private ſchools, to conceal or diſguiſe the truth. It is not improbable that they ſtill retained, in ſecret, the great doctrine of One God, the creator and governor of the univerſe[28]. This, which was originally the belief of all the orders of prieſts which we have mentioned, was retained by ſome of them long after the period we are now conſidering, and might therefore be known to the Druids at this period. This is one of the doctrines which the Brachmans of India are ſworn to keep ſecret: "That there is "one God, the creator of heaven and earth[29]." Cæſar acquaints us, that they taught their diſciples many things about the nature and perfections of God[30]. Some writers are of opi-

[28] Auguſtin. de civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 9.
[29] Franciſc. Saver. Epiſt. de Brachman.
[30] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

nion,

nion, and have taken much learned pains to prove, that our Druids, as well as the other orders of ancient prieſts, taught their diſciples many things concerning the creation of the world—the formation of man—his primitive innocence and felicity—and his fall into guilt and miſery—the creation of angels—their rebellion and expulſion out of Heaven—the univerſal deluge, and the final deſtruction of this world by fire: and that their doctrines on all theſe ſubjects were not very different from thoſe which are contained in the writings of Moſes, and other parts of ſcripture[31]. There is abundant evidence that the Druids taught the doctrine of the immortality of the ſouls of men; and Mela tells us, that this was one of their ſecret doctrines which they were permitted to publiſh, for political rather than religious reaſons. "There "is one thing which they teach their diſciples, "which hath been made known to the common "people, in order to render them more brave "and fearleſs; viz. That ſouls are immortal, "and that there is another life after the pre-"ſent[32]." Cæſar and Diodorus ſay, that the Druids taught the Pythagorean doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls into other bodies[33]. This was perhaps their public doctrine on this ſubject, as being moſt level to the groſs conceptions of the vulgar. But others repreſent them

31 Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 32.
32 Mela, l. 3. c. 11.
33 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Diod. Sicul. l. 5.

as teaching that the ſoul after death aſcended into ſome higher orb, and enjoyed a more ſublime felicity. This was probably their private doctrine, and real ſentiments [34].

Public doctrines of the Druids.

But however agreeable to truth and reaſon the ſecret doctrine of the Druids might be, they were of no benefit to the bulk of mankind, from whom they were carefully concealed. For theſe artful prieſts, for their own mercenary ends, had embraced a maxim, which hath unhappily ſurvived them, that ignorance was the mother of devotion, and that the common people were incapable of comprehending rational principles, or of being influenced by rational motives; and that they were therefore to be fed with the coarſer food of ſuperſtitious fables. This is the reaſon aſſigned by Strabo for the fabulous theology of the ancients. "It is not poſſible to "bring women, and the common herd of mankind to religion, piety, and virtue, by the pure "and ſimple dictates of reaſon. It is neceſſary "to call in the aids of ſuperſtition, which muſt "be nouriſhed by fables and portents of various "kinds. With this view therefore were all the "fables of ancient theology invented, to awaken "ſuperſtitious terrors in the minds of the ignorant multitude [35]." As the Druids had the ſame ends in view with the other prieſts of antiquity, it is highly probable that their public

[34] Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. Lucan. l. 1. v. 455, &c.
[35] Strabo, l. 1.

theology

theology was of the ſame complexion with theirs; conſiſting of a thouſand mythological fables, concerning the genealogies, attributes, offices, and actions of their Gods; the various ſuperſtitious methods of appeaſing their anger, gaining their favour, and diſcovering their will. This farrago of fables was couched in verſe, full of figures and metaphors, and was delivered by the Druids from little eminences (of which there are many ſtill remaining) to the ſurrounding multitudes [36]. With this fabulous divinity, theſe poetical declaimers intermixed moral precepts, for the regulation of the lives and manners of their hearers; and were peculiarly warm in exhorting them to abſtain from doing any hurt or injury to one another; and to fight valiantly in defence of their country [37]. Theſe pathetic declamations are ſaid to have made great impreſſion on the minds of the people, inſpiring them with a ſupreme veneration for their Gods, an ardent love to their country, an undaunted courage, and ſovereign contempt of death [38]. The ſecret and public theology of the Druids, together with their ſyſtem of morals and philoſophy, had ſwelled to ſuch an enormous ſize, in the beginning of this period, that their diſciples employed no leſs than twenty years in making themſelves maſters of all their different branches, and in

[36] Rowland's Mona Antiq.

[37] Id. ibid. p. 253. Diogen. Laert. in Proem.

[38] Lucan. l. 1. v. 460, &c. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

getting

getting by heart, that infinite multitude of verſes in which they were contained [39].

The Gods of the ancient Britons.

How long the ſeveral nations who deſcended from Gomer, the ſon of Japhet, and in particular the ancient Gauls and Britons, continued to worſhip only the one living and true God; and at what time, or by what means the adoration of a plurality of Gods was introduced amongſt them, it is impoſſible for us to diſcover with any certainty; though we have ſufficient evidence that this change had taken place before the beginning of our preſent period [40]. It is highly probable, that this fatal innovation was introduced by ſlow degrees, proceeded from, and was promoted by the three following cauſes. The different names and attributes of the true God, were miſtaken for, and adored as ſo many different divinities. The ſun, moon, and ſtars, the moſt ſtriking and illuſtrious objects in nature, were at firſt viewed with great veneration, as the moſt glorious works and lively emblems of the Deity, and by degrees came to be adored as Gods. Great and mighty princes, who had been the objects of univerſal admiration during their lives, became the objects of adoration after their deaths. The Britons had Gods of all theſe different kinds, as will appear from the following brief detail:

[39] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

[40] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

The Supreme Being was worſhipped by the Gauls and Britons under the name of Heſus, a word expreſſive of his attribute of Omnipotence, as Hizzuz is in the Hebrew [41]. But when the worſhip of a plurality of Gods was introduced, Heſus was adored only as a particular divinity, who by his great power preſided over war and armies, and was the ſame with Mars [42]. As the Germans, Gauls, and Britons were much addicted to war, they were great worſhippers of Heſus, when become a particular divinity, from whom they expected victory; and they paid their court to him by ſuch cruel and bloody rites, as could be acceptable only to a being who delighted in the deſtruction of mankind [43]. Heſus. חזק

Teutates was another name or attribute of the Supreme Being, which, in theſe times of ignorance and idolatry, was worſhipped by the Gauls and Britons as a particular divinity. It is evidently compounded of the two Britiſh words, Deu-Tatt, which ſignify God the parent or creator, a name properly due only to the one true God [44]; who was originally intended by that name. But when theſe nations ſunk into idolatry, they degraded Teutates into the ſovereign of the infernal world; the ſame with the Teutates.

41 Pſal. 24. v. 8. 42 Boxhorn. Orig. Gal. c. 1. p. 11.
43 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 17. Lucan. l. 1. v. 445.
44 Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Teutates: horrenſque feris altaribus Heſus.
Lucan. l. 1. ver. 445.

Dis

Dis and Pluto of the Greeks and Romans (or, as others think, with Mercury); and worſhipped him in ſuch a manner as could be agreeable to none but an infernal power [45].

Taranis. So tremendous and awful is the ſound of thunder that all nations ſeem to have agreed in believing it to be the voice of the Supreme Being, and as ſuch it was no doubt conſidered by the Gauls and Britons, as well as by other nations while they continued to worſhip only one God [46]. But when they began to multiply their Gods, Taranis, ſo called from Taran, thunder, became one of their particular divinities, and was worſhipped alſo by very inhuman rites.

The Sun under various names. The Sun ſeems to have been both the moſt ancient and moſt univerſal object of idolatrous worſhip; inſomuch, that perhaps there never was any nation of idolaters, which did not pay ſome homage to this glorious luminary. He was worſhipped by the ancient Britons with great devotion, in many places, under the various names of Bel, Belinus, Belatucardos, Apollo, Grannius, &c. all which names in their language were expreſſive of the nature and properties of

[45] Baxter Gloſſ. Brit. p. 277. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 18. Dionyſ. Halicar. l. 1. p. 16.

[46] Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.
Lucan. l. 1. v. 446.
Job, chap. 40. v. 9. Pſalm 29. 3, 4, 5.

that

that viſible fountain of light and heat[47]. To this illuſtrious object of idolatrous worſhip, thoſe famous circles of ſtones, of which there are not a few ſtill remaining, ſeem to have been chiefly dedicated: where the Druids kept the ſacred fire, the ſymbol of this divinity, and from whence, as being ſituated on eminences, they had a full view of the heavenly bodies.

The Moon.

As the moon appeared next in luſtre and utility to the Sun, there can be no doubt, that this radiant queen of heaven obtained a very early and very large ſhare in the idolatrous veneration of mankind. What Diodorus ſays of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, may perhaps be ſaid with equal truth of all other idolatrous nations. "When they took a view of the univerſe, and "contemplated the nature of all things, they "imagined that the Sun and Moon were the "two firſt and greateſt Gods[48]." The moon, as we are told by Cæſar[49], was the chief divinity of the ancient Germans, out of gratitude, it is probable, for the favours which they received from her lunar majeſty, in their nocturnal and predatory expeditions; nor did they think it proper to fight, or engage in any important enterprize, while this their protectreſs was in a ſtate of obſcurity[50]. The Gauls and Britons ſeem to have paid the ſame kind of worſhip to the

47 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 35. Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 206. 261. M'Pherſon's Diſſert. p. 313.

48 Diod. Sicul. l. 1.

49 Cæſar, l. 6. c. 21.

50 Id. ibid. l. 1.

Moon,

Moon, as to the Sun; and it hath been obſerved, that the circular temples dedicated to theſe two luminaries were of the ſame conſtruction, and commonly contiguous [52].

Gods of Britain who had been men.

But a great number of the Gods of Gaul and Britain, as well as of Greece and Rome, had been men, victorious princes, wiſe legiſlators, inventors of uſeful arts, &c. who had been deified, by the admiration and gratitude of thoſe nations which had loſt the knowledge of one infinitely perfect Being, who was alone intitled to their ſupreme admiration and gratitude [53]. It is even certain, that thoſe deified mortals who were adored by the Gauls and Britons were in general the very ſame perſons who were worſhipped by the Greeks and Romans. Theſe were Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and the other princes and princeſſes of the royal family of the Titans; who reigned with ſo much luſtre, both in Aſia and Europe, in the patriarchal ages [54]. The only queſtion is, whether the Gauls and Britons, and other Celtic nations, borrowed their Gods of this claſs, from the Greeks and Romans, or theſe laſt borrowed theirs from them. To convince us that the Celtic Gods were the originals, and thoſe of the Greeks and Romans the copies, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that all thoſe deified princes belonged to the Celtæ by their

52 Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſles, p. 365.

53 Cicero de Natura Deorum, l. 1. Diod. Sicul. l. 3. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 17.

54 Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

birth,

birth, and were ſovereigns of the Celtic tribes, who peopled Gaul and Britain—that all their names were ſignificant in the Celtic language, and expreſſive of their ſeveral characters—and that the Gauls and Britons, and the other nations who were called barbarians, were much more tenacious of the opinions and cuſtoms of their anceſtors, than the Greeks and Romans, who diſcovered a great propenſity to adopt the Gods and religious ceremonies of other nations[55]. Of theſe deified princes who were worſhipped by all the Celtic nations, and by many others, the following were the moſt illuſtrious:

Saturn. Saturn was one of the greateſt of the Titan princes, and the firſt of that family who wore a crown, and aſſumed the title of king; his anceſtors having contented themſelves with that of chieftains[56]. His name in the Celtic language ſignifies Martial, or Warlike, a name to which he was well intitled, having dethroned his father Uranus, ſubdued his brother Titan, and extended his empire over the greateſt part of Europe[57]. Though Cæſar doth not name Saturn among the Gods of Gaul and Britain, yet there is ſufficient evidence that he was known and worſhipped in theſe parts. Cicero ſays, that he was worſhipped chiefly in the weſt[58]: and Dion. Halicarnaſſus directly affirms, that he was adored by all the Celtic nations who inhabited the weſt of

55 Dionyſ. Halicar. l. 7. p. 474.
56 Tertul. de Corona, p. 17.
57 Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 10.
58 Cicero de Natura Deorum, l. 3.

Europe,

Europe [59]. Saturn was repreſented as a cruel and bloody, as well as a martial prince; and his deluded worſhippers ſeemed to have imagined that he ſtill retained theſe odious qualities in his deified ſtate; for they endeavoured to gain his favour by human victims [60].

Jupiter. Jupiter, the youngeſt ſon of Saturn, was ſtill a greater and more renowned prince than his father, whom he dethroned. He ſo far eclipſed his two elder brothers, Neptune and Pluto, that they acted only as his vicegerents in the government of certain provinces of his prodigious empire. The true name of this illuſtrious prince was Jow, which in the Celtic language ſignifies young; he being the youngeſt ſon of Saturn, and having performed very great exploits while he was in the flower of his youth [61]. To this name the Latins afterwards added the word Pater (father), but ſtill retained the true name in all the other caſes but the nominative. Jow or Jupiter ſeems to have been a prince of great perſonal accompliſhments, though in ſome particulars not of very ſtrict morals; and as he reigned in prodigious ſplendour over an immenſe empire, we need not wonder that he was extravagantly flattered during his life, and deified (as was become the cuſtom) after his death. The ſame high ſtrains of adulation were addreſſed to him in his deified ſtate, and at length he came to be

[59] Dion. Halicar. l. 1. c. 4.
[60] Id. ibid.
[61] Pezron Antiq. Cel. l. 1. c. 11, 12.

conſidered

conſidered by Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Britons, and many other nations, as the greateſt of all Gods, to whom they impiouſly aſcribed every divine perfection, as will appear from the verſes quoted below [62].

Mercury was the favourite ſon of Jupiter by his couſin Maia, and the moſt accompliſhed prince of all the Titan race. He was ſo much beloved by his father Jupiter, that he gave him the government of the Weſt of Europe in his own lifetime. His name in the Celtic tongue was compounded of the two words, Mercs, which ſignifies merchandiſe, and Wr, a man; a name which was juſtly conferred upon him, on account of his promoting commerce, as well as learning, eloquence, and all the arts in his dominions. It was on theſe accounts alſo, that in his deified ſtate he was eſteemed the God of merchants, orators, and artiſts: and as thieves will ſometimes thruſt themſelves into good company, they too claimed his protection [63]. The Gauls (and probably the Britons) having enjoyed the benefit of the wiſe and good government of this prince, Mercury.

[62] Primus cunctorum eſt et Jupiter ultimus idem:
Jupiter et caput et medium eſt; ſunt ex Jove cuncta.
Jupiter eſt terræ baſis, et ſtellantis Olympi.
Jupiter et mas eſt, eſtque idem nympha perennis.
Spiritus eſt cunctis, validuſque eſt Jupiter ignis.
Jupiter eſt pelagi radix: eſt lunaque ſolque.
Cunctorum rex eſt, princepſque et originis auctor.
Namque ſinu occultans, dulces in luminis auras
Cuncta tulit: ſacro verſans ſub pectore curas.
Apuleius de mundo, l. 1.

[63] Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 14.

their eſteem and gratitude made them regard him as their chief God [64].

Many other Gods, Goddeſſes, &c.

Beſides theſe, there is ſufficient evidence, that our unhappy anceſtors, in thoſe times of ignorance, had many other imaginary Gods, who had been real men, to whom they paid religious homage; but there ſeems to be little neceſſity for making ſuch a detail as this complete [65]. They worſhipped alſo ſeveral female divinities or Goddeſſes; as Andraſte, who is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with Venus or Diana; Onvana, Minerva, Ceres, Proſerpine, &c. &c. [66] Nay, into ſuch an abyſs of ſuperſtition and idolatry were they ſunk, that, according to Gildas, they had a greater number of Gods than the Egyptians; and there was hardly a river, lake, mountain, or wood, which was not ſuppoſed to have ſome divinities, or genii reſiding in them [67]. Such were the unworthy objects to whom the benighted Britons paid religious worſhip and adoration of various kinds; ſome of which we ſhall now proceed to enumerate.

Worſhip of four kinds.

The great ends which the ancient Britons had in view in the worſhip which they paid to their Gods, ſeem to have been theſe four—To expreſs their admiration of their perfections, and gratitude for their favours—to obtain from them ſuch

[64] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 17.

[65] See Sammis Brit. Antiq. cap. 9.

[66] Id. Ibid. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 15.

[67] Hiſtoria Gildæ, c. 2. Pelloutier Hiſt. Celt. v. 2. p. 36 to 41, &c. &c.

things

things as they wanted and deſired—to appeaſe their anger, and engage their love—and to diſcover their deſigns and counſels with regard to future events. In conſequence of this, their acts of religious worſhip were alſo of four kinds, and conſiſted of—ſongs of praiſe and thankſgiving—prayers and ſupplications—offerings, and ſacrifices—and the various rites of augury and divination.

Hymns of praiſe and thankſgiving.

Piety, it hath been imagined by ſome writers, was the parent of poetry: and the firſt poems were hymns of praiſe and thankſgiving to the Supreme Being. However this may be, it is very certain, that ſuch hymns were of the higheſt antiquity, and the moſt ancient poetical compoſitions now extant are of that kind[68]. Nor was the uſe of ſuch ſacred hymns leſs univerſal than it was ancient, and they have always made a part of the religious worſhip of every nation. For which reaſons we may conclude in general, that ſuch ſongs of praiſe and thankſgiving, expreſſive of their admiration, love, and gratitude to their Gods, were uſed by the ancient Britons (who were a very poetical people) in their religious ſolemnities. If we could be certain that the famous Hyperborean iſland deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus was Britain, or any of the Britiſh iſles, we ſhould then have a direct proof, that the religion of the ancient Britons conſiſted chiefly in ſinging hymns to Apollo, or the Sun,

[68] Deuteronomy, chap. 32. Judges, chap. 5.

accompanied with the muſic of various inſtruments [69]. "Hecataeus and ſome other ancient "writers report, that there is an iſland about "the bigneſs of Sicily, ſituated in the ocean, "oppoſite to the northern coaſt of Celtica "(Gaul), inhabited by a people called Hyper-"boreans, becauſe they are beyond the north "wind. The climate is excellent, and the ſoil "is fertile, yielding double crops. The inha-"bitants are great worſhippers of Apollo (the "Sun), to whom they ſing many hymns. To "this God they have conſecrated a large terri-"tory, in the midſt of which they have a mag-"nificent round temple, repleniſhed with the "richeſt offerings. Their very city is dedicated "to him, and is full of muſicians and players on "various inſtruments, who every day celebrate "his benefits and perfections." Beſides this, the Britons and other nations, had another reaſon for employing ſongs and muſical inſtruments in great numbers, in their religious worſhip. This was to drown the cries of thoſe human victims which they offered in ſacrifice to their Gods [70]. There was, as we have already ſeen, a particular claſs of the prieſthood appointed to compoſe thoſe ſacred hymns, and to perform the muſical part of worſhip; though it is not improbable, that on ſome occaſions, all the Druids, and perhaps all the people preſent, joined in theſe ſongs. The hymns compoſed by the Eubates or Faids, and

[69] Diod. Sicul. l. 11. c. 29. [70] Plutarch. de Superſtitione.

ſung

ſung at their ſacred ſolemnities, nó doubt, made a part of that poetical ſyſtem of divinity, in which the Druids inſtructed their diſciples; but as they were never committed to writing, they are now loſt.

Prayers and ſupplications.

As it hath always been one end of religious worſhip to obtain certain favours from the objects of it; ſo prayers and ſupplications for theſe favours, have always made a part of the religious worſhip of all nations, and in particular of that of the ancient Britons. When in danger they implored the protection of their Gods; prayers were intermixed with their praiſes, accompanied their ſacrifices, and attended every act of their religion[71]. It ſeems indeed to have been the conſtant invariable practice of all nations, the Jews not excepted, whenever they preſented any offerings or ſacrifices to their Gods, to put up prayers to them to be propitious to the perſons by whom and for whom the offerings or ſacrifices were preſented; and to grant them ſuch particular favours as they deſired. Theſe prayers were commonly put up by a prieſt appointed for that purpoſe, with his hand upon the head of the victim, immediately before it was killed[72]. Pliny acquaints us with the ſubſtance of one of theſe prayers, which was uſually made by a Druid at one of their moſt ſolemn ſacrifices. "Which "done, they begin to offer their ſacrifices, and

[71] Dio. Caſ. l. 62.

[72] Ovid. Met. l. 7. v. 245, &c. Virg. Æneid. l. 6. v. 248, &c. Levit. chap. 1. v. 4.—chap. 16. v. 21.

"to pray to God, to give a bleſſing with his "own gift to them that were honoured with "it[73]." When we conſider the poetical genius of the ancient Britons, as well as the practice of other nations of antiquity, we have ſome reaſon to think, that their prayers, as well as praiſes, were in verſe, and made part of their poetical ſyſtem of divinity[74].

Offerings. Mankind having found, by experience, the great efficacy of gifts and preſents, in appeaſing the anger, and gaining the favour of their fellow-creatures, began to think that they might probably make the ſame impreſſions on the objects of their religious worſhip; and employed them to that purpoſe[75]. Offerings of various kinds conſtituted an important part of the religion of the ancient Britons, and of many other nations. Theſe offerings were of different kinds and degrees of value, according to the different circumſtances of thoſe who preſented them; and conſiſted generally of the moſt uſeful and excellent things which they could procure, and which they were taught would be moſt agreeable to the Gods[76]. This was a mode of worſhip which the Druids very much encouraged, and their ſacred places were crowded with thoſe pious gifts; expreſſive of the gratitude of the donors for favours which they had already received, or of their

73 Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 16. c. 44.
74 Exorant magnos carmina ſæpe Deos. Ovid. Triſt. l. 11.
75 Munera crede mihi placeant hominesque Deoſque.
76 Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

deſires

deſires of obtaining others; and not a few of theſe offerings were in conſequence of vows which had been made in a time of trouble. When armies returned from a ſucceſsful campaign, they commonly offered the moſt precious of their ſpoils to ſome God to whom they imagined themſelves indebted for their ſucceſs. Theſe ſpoils were piled up in heaps in their conſecrated groves, or even by the ſide of ſome hallowed lake; and were eſteemed ſo ſacred, that they were ſeldom or never violated[77].

Sacrifices.

Mankind, in all ages, and in every country, have betrayed a conſciouſneſs of guilt, and dread of puniſhment from ſuperior beings, on that account. In conſequence of this, they have employed various means to expiate the guilt of which they were conſcious, and to eſcape the puniſhments of which they were afraid. The means which have been moſt univerſally employed by mankind for theſe ends, were ſacrifices of living creatures to their offended Gods; which conſtituted a very eſſential part of the religion of the ancient Britons, and of almoſt all other ancient nations. The animals which were ſacrificed by them, as well as by other nations, were ſuch as they uſed for their own food; which being very palatable and nouriſhing to themſelves, they imagined they would be no leſs agreeable to their Gods. Theſe victims were examined by the Druids with great care, to ſee

[77] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.

that they were the moſt perfect and beautiful in their ſeveral kinds, after which they were killed, with various ceremonies, by prieſts appointed for that purpoſe. On ſome occaſions the victims were conſumed entirely by fire upon the altar; but more commonly they were divided into three parts, one of which was conſumed upon the altar, another fell to the ſhare of the prieſts who officiated; and on the third, the perſon who brought the ſacrifice, feaſted with his friends [78].

Human victims.

It had been well, if our Britiſh anceſtors had confined themſelves to the ſacrificing of oxen, ſheep, goats, and other animals; but we have undoubted evidence, that they proceeded to the moſt horrid lengths of cruelty in their ſuperſtition, and offered human victims to their Gods. It had unhappily become an article in the druidical creed, "That nothing but the life of man "could atone for the life of man." In conſequence of this maxim, their altars ſtreamed with human blood, and great numbers of wretched men fell a ſacrifice to their barbarous ſuperſtition. On ſome great occaſions they formed a huge coloſſal figure of a man, of oſier twigs, and having filled it with men, and ſurrounded it with hay and other combuſtible materials, they ſet fire to the pile, and reduced it, with all the miſerable creatures included in it, to aſhes [79]. For this abominable purpoſe, indeed, they are ſaid to

78 Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 35.
79 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16. Strabo, l. 4.

have

have preferred ſuch as had been guilty of theft, robbery, and other crimes, as moſt acceptable to their Gods; but when there was a ſcarcity of criminals, they made no ſcruple to ſupply their place with innocent perſons. Theſe dreadful ſacrifices were offered by the Druids for the public, at the eve of a dangerous war, or in a time of any national calamity; and for particular perſons of high rank, when they were afflicted with any dangerous diſeaſe. By ſuch acts of cruelty did the ancient Britons endeavour to avert the diſpleaſure, and gain the favour of their Gods. But that we may not on this account entertain a more unfavourable opinion of their manners and diſpoſitions than we ought, or be led to think them greater barbarians than they were, it is but juſtice to obſerve, that many of the moſt polite and learned nations in the heathen world, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans, were guilty of the ſame ſuperſtitious barbarities [80]. This obſervation is not made to diminiſh our horror at ſuch ſavage and ſanguinary ſuperſtitions, for that cannot be too great; but to prevent us from imagining, that our Britiſh anceſtors were naturally more cruel, or more ſtupid, than other nations; and to ſhew us to what deplorable exceſſes the moſt humane and intelligent people upon earth are capable of proceeding, when they are left to themſelves, and are deſtitute of the light of Revelation.

[80] Euſeb. de laud. Conſtant. l. 1. c. 7. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 35.

It

Divination.

It ſeems to have been one article in the creed of the ancient Britons, and of all the other nations of antiquity, that the Gods whom they worſhipped had the government of the world, and the direction of future events in their hands; and that they were not unwilling, upon proper application, to diſcover theſe events to their pious worſhippers[81]. "The Gods (ſays Ammianus), either from the benignity of their own natures, and their love to mankind, or becauſe men have merited this favour from them, take a pleaſure in diſcovering impending events by various indications[82]." This belief gave riſe to aſtrology, augury, magic, lots, and an infinite multitude of religious rites and ceremonies; by which deluded mortals hoped to diſcover the counſels of Heaven, with regard to themſelves and their undertakings[83]. We learn from Pliny, that the ancient Britons were greatly addicted to divination, and excelled ſo much in the practice of all its arts, that they might have given a leſſon to the Perſians themſelves. It will not certainly be thought neceſſary to give a minute laborious detail of all theſe arts of divination. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that beſides all thoſe which were practiſed by them in common with other nations, they had one of a very horrid nature, which is thus deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus: "They have a great veneration for

[81] Ælian. Variar. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 31.

[82] Ammian. Marcellin. l. 21. [83] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

"thoſe

"thoſe who diſcover future events, either from "the flight of birds, or the inſpection of the en- "trails of victims; and all the people yield an "implicit faith to their oracles. On great oc- "caſions they practiſe a very ſtrange and incre- "dible manner of divination. They take a man "who is to be ſacrificed, and kill him with one "ſtroke of a ſword above the diaphragm; and "by obſerving the poſture in which he falls, his "different convulſions, and the direction in "which the blood flows from his body, they "form their predictions, according to certain "rules which have been left them by their an- "ceſtors [84]."

By ſuch acts of religious worſhip did the ancient Britons, in thoſe times of darkneſs, expreſs their pious affections, and endeavour to gain the favour, and diſcover the will of their Gods. Theſe acts of religion were performed by them, at certain ſtated times, and in certain places, which were eſteemed ſacred, and appropriated to religious purpoſes; which, with ſome other circumſtances, claim a little attention.

Times of their worſhip.

It is impoſſible to ſupport a public or national religion, without having certain times fixed for the celebration of its ſolemnities. Accordingly there have been ſuch times ſettled by the laws and cuſtoms of all nations in all ages; and amongſt others, by thoſe of our Britiſh anceſtors. When we conſider how much the Gauls and Britons were

[84] Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 35.

addicted

addicted to ſuperſtition, we ſhall be inclined to think, that they had daily ſacrifices and other acts of religion, at leaſt in their moſt famous places of worſhip. The hours for theſe daily ſervices were perhaps at noon and midnight, when they believed, according to Lucan, that the Gods viſited their ſacred groves [85]. At noon they probably paid their homage to the Sun and the celeſtial Gods, and at midnight, to the Moon and the infernal powers. The Britons certainly were not ignorant of that ancient and univerſal diviſion of time into weeks, conſiſting of ſeven days each; for ſeveral writers of unqueſtionable veracity aſſure us, that this was known, not only to the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, but to all the barbarous nations [86]. But whether one of theſe ſeven days in every week was conſecrated to religion, is not ſo well known. The Britons divided their time by lunar months, reckoning neither from the change nor from the full, but from the ſixth day of one Moon to the ſixth day of another; and the firſt day of every lunar month, according to their way of reckoning, or the ſixth, according to ours, was a religious feſtival. "This "(ſpeaking of one of their moſt ſacred ſolem-"nities), ſays Pliny, is always done on the ſixth "day of the moon. A day ſo eſteemed among "them, that they have made their months, and "years, and even ages, which conſiſt but of

[85] Lucan. l. 3. v. 423, &c.

[86] Joſeph. contra Appion. l. 2. c. 89. Philo, l. 2. p. 657. Dio. Caſſ. l. 37. c. 18.

"thirty

" thirty years, to take their beginning from it. " The reaſon of their chuſing that day is, becauſe " the Moon is by that time grown ſtrong enough, " though not come to the half of its fulneſs [87]." The Gauls and Britons had ſeveral annual feſtivals, which were obſerved with great devotion and ſolemnity. Of this kind was the auguſt ſolemnity of cutting the miſletoe from the oak by the Archdruid; which is thus deſcribed by Pliny: " The Druids hold nothing ſo ſacred as the " miſletoe of the oak. As this is very ſcarce, " and rarely to be found, when any of it is diſ- " covered, they go with great pomp and cere- " mony on a certain day to gather it. When " they have got every thing in readineſs under " the oak, both for the ſacrifice and the banquet " which they make on this great feſtival, they " begin by tying two white bulls to it by the " horns. Then one of the Druids, clothed in " white, mounts the tree, and with a knife of " gold cuts the miſletoe, which is received in a " white ſagum. This done, they proceed to their " ſacrifices and feaſtings [88]." This feſtival is ſaid to have been kept as near as the age of the Moon permitted to the tenth of March, which was their New-year's-day. The firſt day of May was a great annual feſtival, in honour of Belinus, or the Sun [89]. On this day prodigious fires were kindled in all their ſacred places, and on the tops

87 Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 16. c. 44. 88 Id. ibid.
89 Toland's Hiſt. Druids, p. 74. Mem. de l'Acad. Royale, v. 19. p. 489.

of all their cairns, and many ſacrifices were offered to that glorious luminary, which now began to ſhine upon them with great warmth and luſtre. Of this feſtival there are ſtill ſome veſtiges remaining, both in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland, where the firſt of May is called Beltein, i. e. the fire of Bel, or Belinus [90]. Midſummer-day and the firſt of November, already mentioned, were likewiſe annual feſtivals [91]; the one to implore the friendly influences of Heaven upon their fields, and the other to return thanks for the favourable ſeaſons and the fruits of the earth; as well as to pay their yearly contributions to the miniſters of their religion. Nay, it is even probable, that all their Gods and Goddeſſes, their ſacred groves, their hallowed hills, lakes, and fountains, had their ſeveral anniverſary feſtivals [92]; ſo that the Druidiſh calendar was perhaps as much crowded with holidays as the Popiſh one is at preſent. On theſe feſtivals, after the appointed ſacrifices and other acts of devotion were finiſhed, the reſt of the time was ſpent in feaſting, ſinging, dancing, and all kinds of diverſions [93].

Places of worſhip.

It is no leſs neceſſary to the ſupport of a public and national religion, to have certain places appointed for the performance of its various offices. There appear to have been many ſuch places in

[90] Toland's Hiſt. Druids, p. 69, &c.
[91] Id. ibid.
[92] Pelloutier, Hiſt. Celt. l. 3. c. 9.
[93] Tacit. de Mor. German. c. 40.

Britain,

Britain, in the period we are now conſidering; but very different from thoſe ſtructures which have been erected for the purpoſes of religion in later ages. It was an article in the Druidical creed, "That it was unlawful to build temples to the "Gods; or to worſhip them within walls and "under roofs[94]." All their places of worſhip therefore were in the open air, and generally on eminences, from whence they had a full view of the heavenly bodies, to whom much of their adoration was directed. But that they might not be too much incommoded by the winds and rains, diſtracted by the view of external objects, or diſturbed by the intruſion of unhallowed feet, when they were inſtructing their diſciples, or performing their religious rites, they made choice of the deepeſt receſſes of groves and woods for their ſacred places. Theſe groves were planted, for that purpoſe, in the moſt proper ſituations, and with thoſe trees in which they moſt delighted. The chief of theſe was the ſtrong and ſpreading oak, for which tree the Druids had a very high and ſuperſtitious veneration. "The Druids (ſays "Pliny) have ſo high an eſteem for the oak, that "they do not perform the leaſt religious cere-"mony, without being adorned with garlands "of its leaves.—Theſe philoſophers believe, that "every thing that grows upon that tree doth "come from Heaven; and that God hath choſen

[94] Tacit. de Mor. German. c. 9.

"that

"that tree above all others[95]." In this veneration for the oak, from whatever cauſe it proceeded, the Druids were not ſingular. The prieſts of many other nations, and even the Hebrew patriarchs, ſeem to have entertained an almoſt equal veneration for that tree[96]. Theſe ſacred groves were watered by ſome conſecrated fountain or river, and ſurrounded by a ditch or mound, to prevent the intruſion of improper perſons. In the center of the grove was a circular area, incloſed with one or two rows of large ſtones ſet perpendicular in the earth; which conſtituted the temple, within which the altar ſtood, on which the ſacrifices were offered. In ſome of their moſt magnificent temples, as particularly in that of Stone-henge, they had laid ſtones of prodigious weight on the tops of the ſtanding pillars, which formed a kind of circle aloft in the air, and added much to the grandeur of the whole. Near to the temple (which is ſo called for want of a more proper word) they erected their carneddes, or ſacred mounts; their cromlechs, or ſtone tables, on which they prepared their ſacrifices; and all other things which were neceſſary for their worſhip. Though the ſacred groves of the Druids have been long ago deſtroyed from the very roots, yet of the temples, carneddes, and cromlechs, which were incloſed within them, there are ſtill

[95] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

[96] Gen. chap. 31. v. 4. 8. Joſh. 24. v. 26, &c. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 34.

many

many veſtiges remaining in the Britiſh iſles, and other parts of Europe [97]. Many readers will probably be better pleaſed with Lucan's poetical deſcription of one of theſe Druidical groves than with the tedious proſaic one given above [98].

There ſeems to be no neceſſary connexion between polytheiſm and idolatry, or the worſhip of many Gods and the worſhip of idols; though the one hath often introduced the other. The Egyptians, Perſians, Romans, and other ancient nations, had no idols, images, or ſtatues, for a long time after they began to worſhip many Gods [99]. This was the caſe with the inhabitants of Britain when they were firſt invaded by the Romans.

97 Rowland's Mona Antiq. ſect. 7—9. Keyſler Antiq. Septentrion, p. 77. Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſles, p. 9, &c.

98 Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
Obſcurum cingens connexis aera ramis
Et gelidas alte ſubmotis ſolibus umbras.
Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes
Silvani, Nymphæque tenent, ſed barbara ritu
Sacra deum, ſtructæ diris altaribus aræ,
Omnis et humanis luſtrata cruoribus arbor, &c. &c.

Lucan, Pharſ. l. 3. v. 399.

Not far away for ages paſt had ſtood
An old unviolated ſacred wood;
Whoſe gloomy boughs thick interwoven made
A chilly cheerleſs everlaſting ſhade:
There, nor the ruſtic Gods, nor ſatyrs ſport,
Nor fawns and ſylvans with the nymphs reſort:
But barb'rous prieſts ſome dreadful pow'r adore,
And luſtrate ev'ry tree with human gore, &c. &c.

Rowe's Lucan, book 3. l. 594.

99 Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 34. p. 241.

They worſhipped many Gods, but they had no images of theſe Gods, at leaſt none in the ſhape of men or other animals, in their ſacred groves [100]. But whether this proceeded from a religious principle, or from their ignorance of the art of ſculpture may be doubted. For though they had no artificial ſtatues, yet they had certain viſible ſymbols or emblems of their Gods. "All "the Celtic nations (ſays Maximus Tyrius) "worſhipped Jupiter, whoſe emblem or repre-"ſentation amongſt them was a lofty oak [101]." The oaks which were uſed for this purpoſe were truncated, that they might be the better emblems of unſhaken firmneſs and ſtability. Such were thoſe in the Druidical grove deſcribed by Lucan [102]. Thoſe images, which Gildas ſays were ſtill remaining in his time, both within and without the walls of the ruinous heathen temples, had been erected by the Romans, or by the Britons after they were conquered, as well as the temples themſelves [103].

Decline of the Druids, and of their religion.

The Britiſh Druids were in the zenith of their power and glory at the beginning of this period; enjoying an almoſt abſolute authority over the minds and perſons of their own countrymen; and

[100] Tacit. de Mor. Ger. c. 9. [101] Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 38.

[102] . . . . Simulacraque mœſta deorum
Arte carent. Cæſiſque extant informia truncis.
Lucan, l. 3. ver. 412.

. . . . Strong knotted trunks of oak ſtood near,
And artleſs emblems of their Gods appear.

[103] Gildæ Hiſtoria, c. 2.

being greatly admired and reſorted to by ſtrangers [104]. But as the Romans gained ground in this iſland, the power of the Druids gradually declined, until it was almoſt quite deſtroyed. For that victorious people, contrary to their uſual policy, diſcovered every where a very great animoſity againſt the perſons and religion of the Druids. This animoſity ſeems to have proceeded from the two following cauſes. Though the Romans ſtill ſacrificed millions of mankind to their ambition, and had formerly ſacrificed great numbers of them to their Gods; yet they now began to entertain a juſt abhorrence of thoſe cruel rites, and to perſecute the Druids and others who were guilty of them. The other and chief cauſe of the hatred of the Romans againſt the Druids was of a political nature. Thoſe prieſts were not only the miniſters of religion, but (as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter) they were the civil judges, legiſlators, and even ſovereigns in their ſeveral countries. They were ſenſible that if the Romans prevailed, it would be impoſſible for them to preſerve their power; and therefore they employed all their influence in animating their countrymen to make a vigorous reſiſtance againſt thoſe invaders; and in ſtirring them up to frequent revolts, after they had ſubmitted. On the other hand, the Romans were no leſs ſenſible that they could not eſtabliſh their own authority, and ſecure the obedience of

[104] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

Gaul and Britain, without deſtroying the authority and influence of the Druids in theſe countries. With this view they obliged their ſubjects in theſe provinces to build temples, to erect ſtatues, and offer ſacrifices after the Roman manner; and made ſevere laws againſt the uſe of human victims. They deprived the Druids of all authority in civil matters, and ſhewed them no mercy when they found them tranſgreſſing the laws, or concerned in any revolt. By theſe means, the authority of the Druids was brought ſo low in Gaul, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, about A. D. 45, that he is ſaid by his hiſtorian to have deſtroyed them in that country [105]. About the ſame time they began to be perſecuted in the Roman province newly erected, by that emperor, in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain; from whence many of them retired into the iſle of Angleſey, which was a kind of little world of their own. But they did not remain long undiſturbed in this retirement. For Suetonius Paulinus, who was governor of Britain under Nero, A. D. 61, obſerving that the iſle of Angleſey was the great ſeat of diſaffection to the Roman government, and afforded an aſylum to all who were forming plots againſt it, he determined to ſubdue it. Having conducted his army into the iſland, and defeated the Britons who attempted to defend it, though they were animated by the preſence, the prayers, and exhortations of a great

[105] Sueton. in vita Claudii, c. 25.

multitude

multitude of Druids and Druideſſes, he made a very cruel uſe of his victory. For not contented with cutting down their ſacred groves, demoliſhing their temples, and overturning their altars, he burnt many of the Druids in thoſe fires which they had kindled for ſacrificing the Roman priſoners, if the Britons had gained the victory [106]. So many of the Druids periſhed on this occaſion, and in the unfortunate revolt of the Britons under Boadicia, which happened immediately after, that they never made any conſiderable figure after this period in South Britain. Such of them as did not think fit to ſubmit to the Roman government, and comply with the Roman rites, fled into Caledonia, Ireland, and the leſſer Britiſh iſles, where they ſupported their authority and ſuperſtition for ſome time longer.

Long duration of their ſuperſtitions.

But though the dominion of the Druids in South Britain was deſtroyed at this time, many of their pernicious principles and ſuperſtitious practices continued much longer. Nay, ſo deeply rooted were theſe principles in the minds of the people both of Gaul and Britain, that they not only baffled all the power of the Romans, but they even reſiſted the ſuperior power and divine light of the goſpel for a long time after they had embraced the Chriſtian religion. This is the reaſon that we meet with ſo many edicts of emperors, and canons of councils, in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth centuries, againſt the worſhip

106 Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 3.

of the ſun, moon, mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees [107]. This wretched ſuperſtition continued even longer in Britain than in ſome other countries, having been revived firſt by the Saxons, and afterwards by the Danes. It is a ſufficient and melancholy proof of this, that ſo late as the eleventh century, in the reign of Canute, it was found neceſſary to make the following law againſt thoſe heatheniſh ſuperſtitions: "We ſtrictly "diſcharge and forbid all our ſubjects to wor- "ſhip the Gods of the Gentiles; that is to ſay, "the ſun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills or "trees, and woods of any kind [108]."

Having given this brief delineation of Druidiſm, and traced it from the beginning of this period to its decline and final extinction, we now proceed, with pleaſure, to the more agreeable ſubject of the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

[107] Pelloutier Hiſt. Celt. l. 3. c. 4.

[108] L. I. Politic. Canuti Regis. c. 5. apud Lendenbrog. in Gloſſar. p. 1473.

SECTION II.

History of the Christian Religion from its first introduction into South Britain, to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

Rapid progress of the Gospel.

AMONG the many evidences of the truth and divine origin of the Christian Religion, that which arises from its rapid progress in the world, and the astonishing success of its first preachers, is not the most inconsiderable. It is not indeed the province of the historian to pursue this argument, and set it in its full light, but only to lay the foundation on which it is built, by giving an impartial account of the time and manner in which the several nations were brought to the knowledge and belief of the Gospel. This is what we are now to attempt with regard to Britain.

No British memoirs of the time when Christianity was first planted in Britain.

The religious as well as civil antiquities of nations are commonly involved in much obscurity. This is evidently the case with regard to the precise time in which the Christian Religion was introduced into this island. Either the first British Christians kept no memoirs of this happy event, or these memoirs have long since perished. Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, who flourished in the sixth century, declares that he could find no British records of

the civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs of Britain, while it was ſubject to the Romans; and aſſures us, that if any ſuch records had ever exiſted, they had either been deſtroyed by their enemies, or carried into foreign countries by ſome of the exiled Britons [1]. We muſt therefore, with that ancient hiſtorian, be contented with what light and information we can collect from the writers of other nations, who incidentally mention the time, and other circumſtances, of the planting of Chriſtianity in this iſland.

Teſtimonies of writers about the time of planting Chriſtianity in Britain.

It is highly probable, if not abſolutely certain, from the concurring teſtimonies of ſeveral writers, and from other circumſtances, that Britain was viſited by the firſt rays of the Goſpel before the end, perhaps about the middle, of the firſt century [2]. Tertullian, in his book againſt the Jews, which was written A. D. 209, poſitively affirms, "That thoſe parts of Britain into "which the Roman arms had never penetrated, "were become ſubject to Chriſt [3]." From hence we may conclude, that Chriſtianity had been known ſome time before this in the Roman provinces in South Britain. Euſebius, biſhop of Cæſaria, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the fourth century, was equally famous for his learning and integrity, and being in high favour with Conſtantine the Great, had the

[1] Gildæ Hiſtoria, c. 1.

[2] Du Pin's Church Hiſt. Cent. 2d. in Tertull.

[3] Tertull. contra Judæos, c. 7.

beſt

beſt opportunities of being well informed of the ſtate and hiſtory of the Chriſtian Religion in all the provinces of the Roman empire. He wrote a book to demonſtrate the truth of the Goſpel; in which he endeavours to prove, that the apoſtles muſt have been aſſiſted by ſome power more than human, ſince they had preached with ſo much ſucceſs, in ſo many remote cities and countries, "to the Romans, Perſians, Armenians, Parthians, Indians, Scythians, and to "thoſe which are called the Britiſh iſlands[4]." Now as the ſtrength of this reaſoning depended entirely on the truth of theſe facts, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that Euſebius knew they were undeniable: and if they were ſo, it follows that the Goſpel was preached in this iſland in the apoſtolic age. This is further confirmed by the following teſtimony of Theodoret: "Theſe, "our fiſhermen, publicans, and tent-makers, "perſuaded not only the Romans and their "ſubjects, but alſo the Scythians, Sauromatæ, "Indians, Perſians, Seræ, Hyrcanians, Britons, "Cimmerians, and Germans, to embrace the "religion of him who had been crucified[5]." Theodoret flouriſhed in the former part of the fifth century, and was unqueſtionably one of the moſt learned fathers of the church. To theſe we may ſubjoin the teſtimony of Gildas, who ſeems to fix the time of the firſt introduction of

4 Euſeb Demonſt. Evang. l. 3. c. 7. p. 113.
5 Theod. tom. 4. ſer. 9. p. 610.

the

the Chriſtian Religion into South Britain about the period of the great revolt and defeat of the Britons under Boadicia, A. D. 61. For having briefly mentioned theſe events, he adds, "In "the mean time, Chriſt the true ſun afforded "his rays; that is, the knowledge of his pre- "cepts, to this iſland benumbed with extreme "cold, having been at a great diſtance from the "ſun; I do not mean the ſun in the firmament, "but the eternal ſun in heaven[6]." This was no doubt the tradition about this matter which prevailed in Britain in the beginning of the ſixth century, when Gildas wrote; and it was probably not far from the truth.

Evidences from the ſtate of Britain of the early introduction of Chriſtianity.

We ſhall be more diſpoſed to give credit to theſe teſtimonies concerning the early introduction of the Chriſtian Religion into Britain, when we conſider the ſtate of that country, and of the church in theſe times. The emperor Claudius eſtabliſhed a Roman province in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain, A. D. 43: a Roman colony was ſoon after ſettled at Camelodunum; London and Verulam had become large, rich, and flouriſhing municipia, or free cities, crowded with Roman citizens, before the revolt under Boadicia. All this muſt certainly have occaſioned a conſtant and daily intercourſe between Rome and Britain; ſo that whatever made any noiſe, or became the ſubject of attention in that great capital of the world, could not be long

[6] Gildæ Hiſtoria, c. 6.

unknown

unknown in this iſland. Now it is unqueſtionably certain that the Chriſtian Religion had not only made great progreſs at Rome in the reign of Claudius, but had even engaged the attention of the government[7]. It muſt therefore have been heard of, at leaſt, in Britain before A. D. 54, when Claudius died. Before that year alſo many Britons of high rank had been carried priſoners to Rome, and others had gone thither to negociate their affairs at the imperial court; and a much greater number of Romans had come from Rome into Britain, to occupy civil and military poſts in this iſland. Can it be ſuppoſed, therefore, that none of theſe Britons on their return into their own country, or of theſe Romans on their coming into this iſland, brought with them the knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion? It is much more probable, that among thoſe great multitudes of people of all ranks who came from Rome into Britain between A. D. 43, and A. D. 54, there were ſome, perhaps many Chriſtians. Such, we have reaſon to think, was that famous lady Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the very firſt governor of the Roman province in Britain; of whom Tacitus gives this account: "Pomponia "Græcina, an illuſtrious lady, married to Plau- "tius, who was honoured with an ovation or "leſſer triumph for his victories in Britain, was "accuſed of having embraced a ſtrange and

7 Suetonius in vita Claud. c. 25.

"foreign

"foreign ſuperſtition; and her trial for that "crime was committed to her huſband. He, "according to ancient law and cuſtom, con- "vened her whole family and relations; and "having, in their preſence, tried her for her "life and fame, pronounced her innocent of "any thing immoral. Pomponia lived many "years after this trial, but always led a gloomy "melancholy kind of life[8]." It is highly probable, that the ſtrange ſuperſtition of which Pomponia was accuſed, was Chriſtianity; for the Roman writers of theſe times knew very little of that religion, and always ſpeak of it in ſuch ſlight contemptuous terms[9]. The great innocence of her manners, and the kind of life which ſhe had led after her trial, render this ſtill more probable. Now if this illuſtrious lady was really a Chriſtian, and accompanied her huſband during his reſidence in Britain, from A. D. 43, to A. D. 47, ſhe might be one of the firſt who brought the knowledge of Chriſt into this iſland; and might engage ſome of the firſt preachers of the Goſpel to come into it in this very early period. But if the Chriſtian Religion made great progreſs and much noiſe at Rome in the reign of Claudius, it made much greater in that of his ſucceſſor Nero. For about the third year of that reign, A. D. 57, St. Paul, the moſt zealous, eloquent, and ſucceſsful of the apoſtles, arrived

[8] Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 32.
[9] Sueton. Nero, c. 16. Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.

at

at Rome, where he continued two whole years, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all confidence, no man forbidding him [10]. In this time, that great apoſtle made a prodigious number of converts of many different nations and of all ranks. For in a letter which he wrote from that city to the Philippians, he acquaints them, that his having been ſent a priſoner to Rome, had fallen out rather into the furtherance of the Goſpel; ſo that his bonds in Chriſt were manifeſt in all the palace, and in all other places [11]. Beſides, there were many other Chriſtian preachers at Rome, at that time, who all ſpoke with great boldneſs, and had their ſhare of ſucceſs [12]. Now, among all theſe numerous converts, is it not very probable that there were ſome Britons, or ſome Romans who had occaſion ſoon after to go into Britain; or at leaſt ſome who had friends in this iſland, to whom they would naturally communicate an account of the new religion which they had embraced? There ſeems to be ſtrong evidence that there was at leaſt one Briton of high rank and great merit among St. Paul's converts. This was Claudia, mentioned with Pudens, 2 Tim. 4. 21. who is thought to be the ſame with Claudia, the wife of Pudens; a Britiſh lady ſo much celebrated by Martial for her beauty and virtue, in the two

[10] Acts, chap. 28. v. 31.
[11] Philippians, chap. 1. v. 12, 13.
[12] Ibid. v. 14.

epigrams

epigrams in part quoted below [13]. But however this may be, it appears to be morally certain, from all theſe teſtimonies and circumſtances, that the firſt rays of the light of the Goſpel reached the ſouth-eaſt parts of this iſland ſome time between A. D. 43, and A. D. 61.

Small number of Chriſtians in Britain before the perſecution under Nero.

But though the name of Chriſt was not altogether unknown in Britain in this very early period, yet the number of Chriſtians in this iſland was then certainly very ſmall; conſiſting perhaps of a few particular perſons or families, who contented themſelves with the private exerciſe of their religion; and with recommending it to their friends and neighbours, without much noiſe or obſervation. But this little flock gradually encreaſed by converts at home, and acceſſions from abroad. After the ſuppreſſion of the great revolt under Boadicia, Provincial Britain enjoyed great tranquillity for many years, under a ſucceſſion of mild and good governors, and preſented an inviting aſylum to Chriſtians who were cruelly perſecuted in other parts, particularly at Rome. For the greateſt part of that imperial city having been reduced to aſhes by a

[13] Claudia, Rufe, meo nupſit peregrina Pudenti:
Miſce iſto tædis O Hymenæe tuis, &c.
L. 4. Epigram. 13.

Claudia cæruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora gentis habet?
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matrem
Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam, &c.
L. 11. Epigram. 54.

dreadful

dreadful fire, A. D. 64, the infernal tyrant Nero, to divert the ſuſpicion of his having been the incendiary, laid the blame of it upon the Chriſtians; and on that falſe pretence put prodigious numbers of theſe unpopular innocents to the moſt cruel kinds of death. "Some of them (ſays "Tacitus) were wrapt in the ſkins of wild "beaſts, and torn in pieces by dogs; others "were crucified; and others being burned, "ſerved as torches to enlighten the ſtreets of "the city in the night-time[14]." From thoſe direful ſufferings, according to the permiſſion of their gracious maſter, great multitudes of Chriſtians fled into other cities and countries; of whom, it is highly probable, not a few took ſhelter in this iſland, as a place of the greateſt ſafety; and thereby greatly encreaſed the number of Chriſtians in Britain. From about this time, therefore, we may ſuppoſe the Chriſtians in Britain began to be formed into religious ſocieties, under ſpiritual guides, for the inſtruction of their minds and regulation of their manners, and, in a word, began to aſſume the face and form of a Chriſtian church.

Who planted Chriſtianity in Britain.

If it be not eaſy to aſcertain the preciſe time when a Chriſtian church was firſt planted in Britain, it is ſtill more difficult to diſcover by whoſe miniſtry that church was planted. The accounts which are given us of this matter by ancient writers, are very various and unſatisfactory;

[14] Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.

ſome

ſome aſcribing the converſion of the Britons to one, and ſome to another of the apoſtles, or other primitive preachers of the goſpel. It may not, however, be improper to mention, in a very few words, the moſt conſiderable of theſe accounts, though ſome of them are not a little abſurd and improbable.

St. James. If this queſtion were to be determined by a plurality of votes, the apoſtle James, the ſon of Zebedee and the brother of St. John, would certainly be declared the apoſtle of the Britons, as well as of the Spaniards. For a great crowd of ancient hiſtorians, martyrologiſts, and other writers, collected by the moſt learned Archbiſhop Uſher, affirm, that this apoſtle preached the Goſpel in Spain, in the Britiſh iſles, and in other countries of the Weſt [15]. But it is almoſt impoſſible that this can be true; for we are aſſured by St. Luke, that ſo early as A. D. 44, "Herod the king ſtretched forth his hands "to vex certain of the church. And he "killed James the brother of John with the "ſword [16]."

Simon Zelotes. Some other writers acquaint us, that it was the apoſtle Simon ſirnamed Zelotes, who firſt preached the Goſpel in the Weſt, and particularly in the Britiſh iſles; and that he ſuffered martyrdom, and was buried in Britain. But a far greater number of writers, with much greater

[15] Uſſer. de primord. Eccleſ. Brit. c. 1. p. 6.
[16] Acts, ch. 12. v. 1, 2.

proba-

probability, fix the ſcene of this apoſtle's labours and ſufferings in the Eaſt [17].

Baronius, and ſome other writers of the church of Rome, who take all opportunities of magnifying the apoſtle Peter, though ſometimes at the expence of his brethren, contend with great earneſtneſs, that he was the firſt who preached the Goſpel, and planted a Chriſtian church in Britain [18]. But they can produce no tolerable evidence or authority for this opinion; and it is certain nothing can be more improbable. Metaphraſtes indeed ſays, and he is the only writer of any antiquity that ſays any thing of the matter, "That St. Peter ſpent twenty-three years "at Rome, and in Britain, and other countries "of the Weſt; and particularly, that he con-"tinued a long time in Britain, converted many "nations, conſtituted many churches, in which "having ordained biſhops, preſbyters, and dea-"cons, he returned to Rome in the 12th year of "Nero [19]." But Metaphraſtes was a mere modern in compariſon of the apoſtolic times, and his teſtimony, as Baronius acknowledges, is of little or no weight [20]. It appears from Scripture, that the charge of preaching the Goſpel to thoſe of the circumciſion, was in a peculiar manner com-

17 Uſſerius de primord. Eccleſ. Brit. c. 1. p. 7.

18 Baron. Annal. tom. 1. p. 537. Parſon's Converſion of Brit. p 19.

19 Uſſer. de Eccleſ. Brit. primord. p. 7.

20 Baron. Annal. tom. 1. A. D. 61.

mitted to St. Peter [21]. From whence we may be certain, as well as from other evidence, that this apoſtle ſpent his life in preaching in Judea, Alexandria, Antioch, Babylon, and ſuch countries as abounded with Jews, and not in Britain, where there were few or none of that nation at this time. It is not neceſſary to ſay any thing of the Caledonian apoſtleſhip of St. Andrew, for which very reſpectable authorities might be alleged; though it is certainly no better founded than that of his brother St. Peter's, in Provincial Britain [22].

St. Paul. There is only another of the apoſtolic college to whom the introduction of Chriſtianity into Britain hath been aſcribed, viz. the apoſtle Paul. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the tradition concerning him, is not only ſupported by very ancient and venerable authorities, but alſo that it doth not ſeem to be any way inconſiſtent with what we know with certainty of the character and hiſtory of that apoſtle. Theodoret, whoſe teſtimony hath been already produced to prove, that the Chriſtian Religion was not altogether unknown in Britain in the days of the apoſtles, in ſome other places of his works inſinuates, that the apoſtle Paul preached the Goſpel in this iſland, as well as in Spain and other countries in the Weſt [23]. Clemens Romanus and St. Jerome ſay the ſame thing in rather plainer

[21] Galat. ch. 2. v. 7.
[22] Dr. M'Pherſon's Diſſert. p. 353.
[23] Uſſer. de Eccleſ. Brit. primord. p. 8.

terms.

terms [24]. Theſe teſtimonies of ancient writers, to which, if it were neceſſary, ſome others might be added, are confirmed by the conſideration of ſeveral particulars in the writings, the character, and hiſtory of this apoſtle. Nothing is more certain, than that he was animated with the moſt fervent zeal for the propagation of the Chriſtian Religion, and that he flew like lightning from one country to another in the execution of this deſign. It appears from his own writings, and from the canonical hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, written by St. Luke, that from the time when this apoſtle firſt began to preach the Goſpel, to the time when he was ſent priſoner to Rome, he had made an almoſt incredible number of journies into many countries of the Eaſt, where he preached the Goſpel, and planted Chriſtian churches [25]. It appears too, from the ſame unqueſtionable authority, that ſome time before his impriſonment, he had a preſage of that event, and a certain knowledge that he ſhould never return again into the Eaſt; and that none of thoſe among whom he had hitherto preached ſhould ſee his face any more [26]. He was releaſed from his confinement at Rome, and ſet at full liberty to go where he pleaſed, A. D. 58; from which, to the time when he ſuffered martyrdom at Rome, A. D. 67, in the laſt year of Nero, was no leſs than nine years. Where

[24] Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 37, 38.

[25] Acts, chap. 13—21.

[26] Ibid. chap. 20. v. 25.

then did this moſt active and zealous apoſtle ſpend theſe laſt nine years of his laborious life? To this queſtion, it muſt be confeſſed, no very ſatisfactory anſwer can be given. The writings, as well as the perſons of the primitive teachers of Chriſtianity were expoſed to the moſt cruel perſecutions, and both very often periſhed in the ſame flames; which is the reaſon that we know ſo little of ſome parts of their hiſtory. But from ſeveral circumſtances it appears moſt probable, that St. Paul ſpent the laſt years of his life in the weſtern provinces of the Roman empire, of which Britain was one. He had taken a final leave of the churches in the Eaſt, into which he had been aſſured by a Divine Revelation, that he never ſhould return. He writes to Timothy from Rome immediately after his deliverance, that the deſign of Providence in delivering him out of the lion's mouth, i. e. from the tyrant Nero, was, that his preaching might be fully known; and that all the Gentiles might hear[27]; probably meaning thoſe of the Weſt, as well as thoſe of the Eaſt. This apoſtle was always ambitious of preaching in countries where the name of Chriſt was not at all, or very little known; leſt he ſhould build upon another man's foundation[28]. Now, the weſtern provinces of the Roman empire preſented him a large uncultivated field, where the name of Chriſt was very little known at the time of his

[27] 2 Tim. ch. 4. v. 17. [28] Romans, ch. 15. v. 20.

deli-

deliverance. It appears too, in particular, that his heart was very much ſet upon making a journey into Spain, by way of Rome, to preach the Goſpel in that country[29]. Is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe then, that he accompliſhed this deſign after he was releaſed from his confinement at Rome? If he did this, and travelled through Gaul into Spain, and ſpent ſome years in theſe countries, it is not improbable that he alſo viſited Britain, which was then become a large and flouriſhing province of the Roman empire. In a word, though it would be raſh and unwarrantable in a modern writer to affirm poſitively, that the apoſtle Paul preached the Goſpel in Britain, yet it is certainly no preſumption to affirm, that if any of the apoſtles preached in this iſland, it was moſt probably the apoſtle Paul[30].

The converſion of the firſt Britiſh Chriſtians is by ſome authors aſcribed to Ariſtobulus, who is mentioned by St. Paul, in his Epiſtle to the Romans[31]. This extraordinary perſon, of whom St. Paul ſays ſo little, was, according to theſe authors, very happy in a great number of excellent relations. For he was, as they pretend, the ſame with Zebedee, the father of the two apoſtles, James and John, by his wife Salome; he was alſo brother to Barnabas, and father-in-law to the two apoſtles, Peter and Andrew. A

Ariſtobulus.

[29] Romans, ch. 15. v. 24. 28.
[30] Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 39—48.
[31] Chap. 16. v. 10.

perſon ſo well related could hardly fail to meet with preferment in the church. Accordingly they tell us, that he was ordained a biſhop by his ſon-in-law St. Peter, and ſent to preach the Goſpel in Britain, where he ſuffered martyrdom [32]. All this is ſo palpably abſurd and legendary that it merits no ſerious confutation.

Joſeph of Arimathea.

The honour of planting the firſt Chriſtian church in South Britain hath been beſtowed by others upon Joſeph of Arimathea, who buried our Saviour in his own new tomb [33]. Now, though the tradition of Joſeph's coming into Britain is altogether improbable, and ſupported by no tolerable authority, yet as it has been ſeriouſly defended by ſome Popiſh writers, and (which is almoſt as abſurd) ſeriouſly refuted by ſome proteſtants, it may not be improper to gratify the readers's curioſity, by laying before him the firſt and moſt ſimple edition of this ſtory, and alſo ſome of the embelliſhments which were afterwards added to it by other monkiſh writers. William of Malmſbury, in the beginning of his Hiſtory of the Antiquities of the church of Glaſtenbury, having mentioned the diſperſion of the apoſtles by the perſecution in which St. Stephen ſuffered martyrdom, he proceeds to this purpoſe: "That St. Philip came into "the country of the Franks, where he con-"verted many to the Faith; and being de-"ſirous of propagating the knowledge of Chriſt

[32] Uſſer. de Eccleſ. Brit. primord. p. 9, 10.

[33] St. Matthew, chap. 27. v. 60.

"ſtill

" ſtill further, he choſe twelve of his diſciples, " and having devoutly laid his right hand upon " each of them, he ſent them to preach the " word of life in Britain, under the conduct of " his dear friend Joſeph of Arimathea, who bu- " ried the Lord. Theſe miſſionaries arriving in " Britain, A. D. 63, from the aſſumption of the " bleſſed Mary the 15th, they preached the " Goſpel with great zeal. The barbarous king " of the country, however, and his ſubjects, re- " jected their new doctrine, and would not " abandon their ancient ſuperſtition; but as Jo- " ſeph and his companions had come from a " very diſtant country, and behaved modeſtly, " he granted them a certain iſland in the bor- " ders of his kingdom, called Iniſwitrin, for " their reſidence; and two other Pagan princes " ſucceſſively granted them twelve hides of land " for their ſubſiſtence. Theſe holy men living " in this wilderneſs, being admoniſhed by the " angel Gabriel to build a church to the honour " of the bleſſed Virgin, the mother of God, " they were not diſobedient to the divine com- " mand, but built a ſmall chapel of wattles in " a place pointed out to them: a humble ſtruc- " ture indeed, but adorned with many virtues! " For as this was the firſt Chriſtian church in " theſe regions, the Son of God was pleaſed to do " it the ſingular honour of dedicating it himſelf " to the honour of his mother [34]." Though this

34 Gulielm. Malmſb. de Antiq. Glaſt. Eccleſ. apud Gal. tom 1. p. 292.

original ſtory hath a very decent proportion of the marvellous, it did not ſatisfy the luxuriant fancies of the monks of Glaſtenbury, who made almoſt as great a change in it, as they did in their old church of wattles, by their ſucceſſive embelliſhments. It will be ſufficient to convince us of this, to give the following ſhort extract, which is ſaid to have been taken out of the archives of the church of Glaſtenbury: "There "were ſix hundred men and women who were "to come over into Britain with Joſeph of Ari-"mathea, who having all taken a vow of ab-"ſtinence till they came to land, they all broke "it, except fifty, who came over the ſea on the "ſhirt of Joſephus the ſon of Joſeph. But the "reſt having repented of the breach of their "vow, a ſhip was ſent to bring them over, "which had been built by king Solomon. "There came over with them a duke of the "Medes, called Nacianus, formerly baptized "by Joſeph in the city of Saram, with the king "of it, called Mordraius, who valiantly killed "a king of North Wales, who kept Joſeph a "priſoner, &c. &c.[36]." It will not be neceſſary to ſpend any time in proving, that theſe monſtrous fictions were the pure inventions of the monks of Glaſtenbury, to promote the reputation and riches of their monaſtery. For nothing could equal the wantonneſs and effrontery of the monks in the middle ages, in inventing

[36] Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 13.

and

and propagating ſuch extravagant legends, but the great ſimplicity of the people in believing them [37].

By miſſionaries from the Eaſt.

A modern writer of no little learning and ſagacity, hath advanced it as a probable opinion, that Chriſtianity was firſt planted in this iſland by miſſionaries who came immediately from the Eaſt, ſent (as he thinks moſt likely) by the famous St. Polycarp, biſhop of Smyrna, who ſuffered martyrdom, A. D. 170 [38]. The only reaſon which he gives for this new and ſingular opinion is, the conformity of the Britiſh Chriſtians with the churches of the Eaſt, about the time of keeping Eaſter. But nothing can be more certain, than that the Chriſtian Religion was introduced into Britain, long before there was any talk, at leaſt before there was any controverſy, about the time of keeping Eaſter. That controverſy doth not ſeem to have made any noiſe in the church till about the middle of the ſecond century, and probably did not reach Britain till ſome time after. Now, as the Britiſh church was not then under any ſubjection to the church of Rome, nor indeed any one national church ſubject to another, when this controverſy about the time of keeping Eaſter came to be agitated among the Britiſh Chriſtians, it is not at all ſurpriſing, that they choſe to conform to the practice of the eaſtern church, which was the mother

37 Vide Uſſer. de Eccleſ. Brit. primord, c. 2.

38 Dr. M'Pherſon's Diſſert. 20.

of

of all other churches, and moſt likely to be in the right. To this they might be perſuaded by ſome perſons of influence amongſt them, who had ſtudied the controverſy, and were well enough acquainted with the arguments on both ſides.

First planters of Chriſtianity in South Britain not certainly known.

Upon the whole, it muſt be acknowledged, that after all that hath been written on this ſubject, it is now impoſſible to diſcover with certainty, who were the firſt preachers of the Goſpel, and the chief inſtruments of planting a Chriſtian church in this iſland. Nor have we any reaſon to be much concerned at this, ſince we know that we are indebted for this ineſtimable bleſſing to that gracious Being from whom every good and perfect gift cometh; and that to him, and not to the viſible inſtruments of his providence, our ſupreme gratitude and thanks are due.

Cent. 2. Progreſs of the Goſpel gradual.

As the Chriſtian Religion was very early introduced into Britain, ſo after its introduction it continued to diffuſe its light from one of the Britiſh nations unto another, until they were all, in ſome meaſure, illuminated. The progreſs of the Roman arms, though without any intention of theirs, contributed not a little to the progreſs of the Goſpel, by reducing all the different nations of South Britain under one government, and thereby opening a free and uninterrupted intercourſe over the whole country. As the conqueſt of South Britain was completed by the Romans before the end of the firſt century, we have reaſon to think, that the name and religion of

of Chriſt were known, in ſome degree, in almoſt every corner of that country, about the beginning of the ſecond. We have the greater reaſon to be of this opinion, when we conſider, that by the deſtruction of the Druids, which had happened before that time, one great obſtacle to the progreſs of the Goſpel was removed; and the minds of the Britons were left open to the impreſſions of a more pure and rational religion.

Converſion of king Lucius.

But though the firſt dawnings of the Goſpel had ſo early viſited this iſland, and were ſo widely diffuſed, we cannot ſuppoſe, that the number of Chriſtians here was either very great in the ſecond century, or that they were in general of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank. The perfect tranquillity, and freedom from perſecution, which the Chriſtians in Britain enjoyed during the whole of the ſecond, and the greateſt part of the third century, is a proof, not only of their prudent and peaceable behaviour, but alſo that they were not thought formidable for their power or numbers, by the Roman government. In other provinces of the Roman empire, where the number of Chriſtians was become very great, they were ſeverely perſecuted in the beginning of this century, even by the moſt humane governors, under the mildeſt emperors; as by Pliny, under the emperor Trajan, in Pontus and Bithynia[39]. Indeed, if the famous ſtory of the converſion of Lucius, king of Britain, and of his ſubjects, to

[39] Plin. Epiſt. 97. l. 10.

the

the Chriſtian faith, which is ſo gravely and circumſtantially related by ſo many authors, could be believed, we ſhould be led to entertain much higher ideas of the ſtate of the Britiſh church in this period. But certainly there never was any ſtory more evidently falſe, abſurd, and contradictory, in almoſt every circumſtance, than this of king Lucius; as it is related by different authors. Some of them make this Lucius king of all the Britiſh iſles; ſome king of Britain; ſome king of South Britain; and ſome only a petty king of ſome part of South Britain, they know not where: and (to mention only another of the contradictory circumſtances of this ſtory) no fewer than twenty-three different dates have been aſſigned for this event of the converſion of king Lucius, by different writers [40]. If there is any truth at all in this ſtory, it requires more than human penetration and ſagacity, to diſtinguiſh it from the heap of fables and contradictions under which it is buried. But that the reader's curioſity may not be diſappointed, we ſhall lay before him the very ſhort account of this matter, which is given by Nennius, the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians by whom it is mentioned; and alſo the more pompous and circumſtantial narration of Jeffrey of Monmouth. By comparing theſe two accounts together, he will obſerve how much this famous tale had improved between the ſeventh century, in which Nennius lived,

[40] Uſſer. Eccleſ. Brit. primord. c. 3.

and

and the twelfth, in which Jeffrey of Monmouth flouriſhed.

Relation of it by Nennius.

"In the year 164 (ſays Nennius) from the "incarnation of our Lord, Lucius, monarch of "Britain, with all the other petty kings of all "Britain, received baptiſm, from a deputation "ſent by the Roman emperors, and by the "Roman pope Evariſtus[41]." This is but a very ſhort ſtory, and yet it contains at leaſt two as great falſehoods and abſurdities as can well be imagined. What can be more abſurd and falſe than to aſſert that there was a great Britiſh monarch named Lucius, with many petty Britiſh kings under him, at a time when all South Britain, and a conſiderable part of North Britain, were under ſubjection to the Romans? Unleſs it be ſtill more abſurd to affirm, that the two heathen emperors, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Verus, ſent deputies to convert and baptize the kings and people of Britain. On this foundation, however, which was laid by Nennius, ſubſequent writers, by degrees, raiſed a very magnificent ſtructure, which was at length brought to perfection, by the inventive and romantic genius of Jeffrey of Monmouth, as appears from the following narration:

Relation of it by Jeffrey of Monmouth.

"Coilus had but one ſon, named Lucius, who "obtaining the crown after his father's death, "imitated all his acts of goodneſs, and ſeemed to "his people to be no other than Coilus him-

[41] Nennii Hiſt. Brit. c. 18.

"ſelf

" ſelf revived. As he had made this good
" beginning, he was willing to make a better
" end: for which purpoſe he ſent letters to pope
" Eleutherius, deſiring to be inſtructed by him
" in the Chriſtian Religion. For the miracles
" which Chriſt's diſciples performed in ſeveral
" nations wrought conviction in his mind, ſo
" that being inflamed with an ardent love of the
" true faith, he obtained the accompliſhment of
" his pious requeſt. For that holy pope, upon
" receipt of this devout petition, ſent to him
" two moſt religious doctors, Faganus and
" Duvanus, who, after they had preached con-
" cerning the incarnation of the word of God,
" adminiſtered to him baptiſm, and made him
" a proſelyte to the Chriſtian Faith. Imme-
" diately upon this, people from all countries
" aſſembling together, followed the king's ex-
" ample, and being waſhed in the ſame holy
" laver, were made partakers of the kingdom of
" Heaven. The holy doctors, after they had
" almoſt extinguiſhed paganiſm over the whole
" iſland, dedicated the temples, that had been
" founded in honour of many Gods, to the one
" only God and his ſaints, and filled them with
" congregations of Chriſtians. There were then
" in Britain eight and twenty flamens, as alſo
" three archflamens, to whoſe juriſdiction the
" other judges and enthuſiaſts were ſubject.
" Theſe alſo, according to the apoſtles com-
" mand, they delivered from idolatry, and where
" they were flamens made them biſhops, where

" archflamens archbiſhops. The ſeats of the " archflamens were at the three nobleſt cities, " viz. York, London, and Caerleon upon Uſke, " in Glamorganſhire. Under theſe three, now " purged from ſuperſtition, were made ſubject " twenty-eight biſhops, with their dioceſes [42]." An aſtoniſhing revolution indeed! and the more aſtoniſhing that it was brought about by the influence of a Britiſh king, at a time when there could be no Britiſh king on the ſouth ſide of the firths of Forth and Clyde, except in a ſtate of entire ſubordination to the Romans. But honeſt Jeffrey does not ſtop here. Though he had provided the infant church of Britain with a very decent ſet of archbiſhops and biſhops, who had been archflamens and flamens, he was ſenſible that they would have made but an awkward figure in their new character without good houſes and good livings, and therefore he hath taken care to make them rather better in that reſpect than they had been before, that they might have no reaſon to repent the change of their religion. For a little further he adds, " That the glorious " king Lucius, being highly rejoiced at the " great progreſs the true faith and worſhip had " made in his kingdom, granted, that the poſ- " ſeſſions and territories formerly belonging to " the temples of the Gods, ſhould now be con- " verted to a better uſe, and appropriated to " Chriſtian churches. And, becauſe greater

[42] Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 4. c. 19.

" honour

"honour was due to them than to the others, "he made large additions of lands and manſion-"houſes, and all manner of privileges to them." It was very fortunate for theſe right reverend converts that good king Lucius was of ſo different a diſpoſition from his famous ſucceſſor, Henry VIII. Jeffrey at laſt finiſhes the hiſtory of this wonderful monarch, by telling us, "That "he departed this life in the city of Glouceſter, "and was honourably buried in the cathedral "church, in the hundred and fifty-ſixth year "after our Lord's incarnation[43]." Such is the account which is given by Jeffrey of Monmouth of the converſion of king Lucius, and its important conſequences. A late church hiſtorian ſays, very gravely, "That this account looks "very ſuſpicious;" and takes much learned pains to prove, that the Pagan and Chriſtian hierarchy were not ſo very like, and ſo eaſily convertible into one another as Jeffrey hath repreſented them. "That there were Britiſh "biſhops (ſays he) in Lucius's time, is without "queſtion;" but he ſeems to think that this good king had it not in his power to provide quite ſo well for them[44]. The truth is, that it is almoſt equally ridiculous to draw any ſerious conſequences from this extravagant ſtory, or to take any pains in refuting it; ſince every one who knows any thing of the ſtate of Britain at

[43] Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 5. c. 1.

[44] Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. v. 1. p. 13, 14.

that time, muſt know, that it contains as many falſehoods and impoſſibilities as ſentences.

What little truth there might be in the ſtory of king Lucius.

If there is any truth at all in this ſtory of king Lucius, it cannot poſſibly be any more than this: That ſome time or other in the ſecond century, there was a petty prince or chieftain of the Britons in favour with the Romans, and indulged by them with ſome degree of authority in his country, who embraced the Chriſtian Religion, and promoted the converſion of his friends and followers, to the utmoſt of his power. This might poſſibly happen; but whether it did happen or not is certainly very doubtful, ſince Gildas, the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, who was a Briton and a zealous Chriſtian, gives not the leaſt hint of ſuch a thing.

The happy ſituation of the Chriſtians in Britain preſerved them from the contagion of thoſe fatal hereſies which were broached in the ſecond century, and greatly diſturbed the peace of the Chriſtian church, and obſtructed the progreſs of the Goſpel in other places. For the hereſiarchs of *this early period*, as *Baſilides*, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Montanus, &c. being either Egyptians or *Aſiatics*, countries with which Britain had little or *no intercourſe*, the Chriſtians in this iſland remained in a happy ignorance of their peculiar opinions; and continued to enjoy the light of the Goſpel in the ſame purity in which it had been communicated to them by their firſt teachers. This circumſtance contributed not a little both to the internal peace and external

ſafety of the infant church of Britain, and preſerved it from many calamities which fell upon other churches which were infected with theſe hereſies.

Cent. 3. Further progreſs of Chriſtianity.

Though it is abundantly evident, that the Chriſtian Religion was very far from being eſtabliſhed in Britain in this early period, ſo generally, or with ſo much eclat and ſplendor as the Monkiſh writers pretend, yet it plainly appears, that it not only ſubſiſted, but even continued gradually to gain ground. For about the beginning of this century (according to the teſtimony of Tertullian, already quoted) it had extended beyond the limits of the Roman province, into thoſe parts of Britain which had not ſubmitted to the arms of that victorious people[45]. This was probably brought about by the miniſtry of ſome of the provincial Britons, who having embraced Chriſtianity, and being animated with an ardent zeal for the propagation of their new religion, communicated the knowledge of it to the free and independent Britons, who were of the ſame ſtock, and ſpoke the ſame language with themſelves. How far the light of the Goſpel penetrated, at this time, into the wilds of Caledonia, it is impoſſible to diſcover.

The Chriſtian churches in Aſia, Africa, and on the continent of Europe, were, during the whole of this century, perſecuted and relieved by turns, according to the different diſpoſitions of the

[45] Tertul. contra Judæos, c. 7.

reigning

reigning emperors; and of the governors, prieſts, and people of the provinces where they were planted [46]. It was the peculiar felicity of the Chriſtians in Britain, to enjoy a profound tranquillity and peace, for the greateſt part of this age. This might be owing, under Providence, to their diſtant ſituation; to the humanity of their governors; to the want of power in the heathen prieſts; to their own prudent and peaceable behaviour; and perhaps to other cauſes, to us unknown.

Perſecution in Britain.

At laſt, the flames of perſecution, which had often raged with ſo much violence in other countries, reached this peaceful and ſequeſtered corner of the Roman empire. This perſecution broke out in Britain ſome time in the reign of the emperor Diocleſian, who aſſumed the purple A. D. 284, and laid it aſide A. D. 305; but in what year of this reign it began, and how long it continued, cannot be diſcovered. Gildas, the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, ſays, that it continued nine years in ſome other countries, but only two in Britain; and expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, as would lead us to think they were the laſt two years of Diocleſian's reign [47]. This agrees well enough with the accounts of the moſt ancient church hiſtorians, who repreſent this perſecution as raging with the greateſt violence in the begin-

[46] Moſhemii Hiſt. Eccleſ. ſæcul. 3. c. 2. Gildæ Hiſt. Brit. c. 7. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 4.

[47] Gildæ Hiſt. Brit. c. 7, 8.

ning of the fourth century [48]. But venerable Bede, and the greateſt number of our old hiſtorians, place this perſecution, and the martyrdom of St. Alban, in the year 286. The truth is, if either Diocleſian, or his colleague Maximianus, had any hand in this perſecution, it muſt have been either near the beginning or near the end of their joint reign: for in the intermediate time, Britain was governed more than ten years, firſt by Carauſius, and afterwards by Alectus, in a manner quite independent of theſe emperors [49]. Not only are we thus uncertain about the preciſe time of this perſecution, but the accounts which we have of its other circumſtances are very unſatisfactory; being given us by Monks, a ſet of men who could not abſtain from the marvellous, where religion was concerned [50]. The truth, when ſeparated from the legendary and miraculous embelliſhments with which it is adorned by theſe writers, ſeems to have been this: That ſome time near the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, the Chriſtians in the Roman province in Britain were perſecuted for their religion: that in this perſecution St. Alban, a native of Verulamium, ſuffered martyrdom in that city, and was the firſt Britiſh martyr: that beſides him, Aaron and Julius, two citizens of Caerleon, and many others, both men and women, in

[48] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 6. Lactant. de Mort. Perſeq. c. 14. p. 601.

[49] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 8. c. 6. Biographia Britannica, c. 1. p. 83. note E.

[50] Gildæ Hiſt. Brit. c. 8. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 7.

ſeveral

ſeveral different places, ſuffered at the ſame time, in the ſame glorious cauſe: but that a ſtop was ſoon put to this cruel perſecution by the good providence of God, and the church reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity.

Government, doctrine, and worſhip of the Britiſh churches in the firſt three centuries.

We have not materials to enable us to give a ſatisfactory and authentic account of the government, doctrine, and worſhip of the ancient Britiſh churches in the firſt three centuries, before they received any protection and ſupport from the civil government. We have already ſeen the pompous plan of Jeffrey of Monmouth, ſaid to have been copied from the Pagan hierarchy by king Lucius. His countryman, Giraldus Cambrenſis, preſents us with a ſtill more ſplendid and extenſive form of eccleſiaſtical government, in imitation of the civil government of the Romans, which (as he ſays) was ſettled in Britain in the days of this wonderful king, above two hundred years before the arrival of the Saxons, "Accord-
"ing to the number of provinces which were in
"Britain in the times of Paganiſm, five metro-
"politans were ſettled, one in each province;
"with twelve ſuffragans under each metropolitan
"in twelve different cities. The metropolitan
"of the firſt province was ſeated at Caerleon,
"with twelve ſuffragans under him: the metro-
"politan of the ſecond province at Canterbury,
"with twelve ſuffragans under him: the metro-
"politan of the third province at London, with
"twelve ſuffragans under him: the metropolitan
"of the fourth province at York, with twelve

"ſuffragans under him: the metropolitan of the "fifth province at St. Andrews, with twelve "ſuffragans under him[51]." A moſt regular and beautiful plan, conſiſting of five archbiſhops and ſixty biſhops, very properly diſpoſed! But, as Sir Henry Spelman modeſtly obſerves, "Giral- "dus Cambrenſis ſeems to have run riot as "much in this narration, as Jeffrey of Mon- "mouth." The doctrine of the Britiſh churches, in the firſt three centuries, was probably much the ſame in ſubſtance with that of the apoſtles creed, as we are aſſured both by Gildas and Bede that they were not infected with any hereſy, till they came to be tainted with that of Arius[52]. In their ceremonies and rites of worſhip, it is not to be imagined they differed much from the other churches of theſe times, or had any thing very ſingular; only in the keeping of Eaſter, they imitated the churches of Aſia, rather than that of Rome[53].

How the expences of religion were defrayed in the firſt three centuries.

It is natural to enquire in what manner the clergy were maintained, churches built, and the other expences of religion defrayed, in the ancient Britiſh church, as well as in other primitive churches, in the firſt three centuries, when they received no favour, protection, or ſupport from the ſtate. The apoſtles, their fellow-labourers, and perhaps ſome of their immediate ſucceſſors, were

[51] Giraldus, apud Spelman. Concilia. tom. 1. p. 15, 16.

[52] Gildæ Hiſt. Brit. c. 9. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 8.

[53] See King's Enquiry into the Conſtitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, part the ſecond.

ſupported

ſupported partly by the work of their own hands, and partly by the grateful contributions of the faithful[54]. In theſe primitive times, when a competent number of perſons were converted to the Chriſtian Religion in any place, ſufficient to conſtitute a decent congregation, they formed themſelves into a church or religious ſociety; and every member of this ſociety contributed, according to his abilities, to the maintenance of thoſe who miniſtered in holy things, to the ſupport of the poor, and to all other neceſſary charges. The contributions for theſe purpoſes were commonly made in their religious aſſemblies on the firſt day of the week, according to the apoſtolic direction[55]. Many of the primitive Chriſtians, full of the moſt ardent zeal for their religion, did not content themſelves with giving their ſhare to theſe ſtated contributions for thoſe pious uſes, but beſtowed houſes, gardens, and even lands upon the church, or left them to it by their laſt wills[56]. It appears, however, that the Chriſtians of Britain, in this early period, were either not very liberal to their clergy, or, which is more probable, not very rich. For the Britiſh biſhops, as we ſhall ſee by and bye, were remarkably indigent, even in the next century, when the church enjoyed the favour of the civil government. But whatever was the ſtate of the

54 1 Theſſ. c. 2. v. 9. 2 Theſſ. c. 3. v. 8. Galatians, c. 6. v. 6.
55 1 Corinth. c. 16. v. 1, 2.
56 Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. c. 4. p. 177.

revenues of the clergy in thoſe times of poverty and perſecution, no inference can certainly be drawn from it to determine what it ought to be in more opulent and happy ages.

Cent. 4. Chriſtians delivered from perſecution.

After the churches of Chriſt, in almoſt all the provinces of the Roman empire, had been ſo long expoſed to the moſt cruel perſecutions which broke out upon them from time to time, it pleaſed the Divine providence to put an end to their trials and ſufferings of this kind in the former part of the fourth century. The Britiſh Chriſtians were the very firſt who enjoyed the advantage of this great deliverance. For Conſtantius Chlorus being in Britain when he was declared emperor, upon the reſignation of Diocleſian and Maximianus, A. D. 305; he immediately put a ſtop to the perſecution of the Chriſtians, which before he had been obliged to permit, in obedience to the edicts of theſe emperors [57]. This excellent prince having died at York the year after, he was ſucceeded by his illuſtrious ſon Conſtantine the Great, who proved the glorious inſtrument of delivering the Chriſtian church from all the grievous oppreſſions under which it had ſo long groaned. Though there is no reaſon to think that Conſtantine the Great was a Chriſtian at the time of his acceſſion, yet it appeared even before he left Britain, that he was determined to protect the Chriſtians from perſecution, and to ſhew them ſtill greater favour than his father had done.

[57] Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 8. c. 13.

Encou-

Encouraged by these favourable dispositions in the new emperor, who had assumed the purple in their country, the British Christians came out of the lurking-places, into which they had retired to avoid the late persecution, rebuilt their ruined churches, and kept their sacred solemnities with pure and joyful hearts [58].

British bishops in the council of Arles. A.D. 314.

It had been usual, from the very days of the apostles, when any dispute arose among the faithful about doctrines, discipline, or worship, for as many of the clergy to meet together as convenient, to examine the matter in question, and to give their opinion about it; which was generally decisive, and received with great submission. These meetings of the clergy were called synods, or councils. In the first three centuries, when the Christian church did not enjoy the protection of the state, these councils were held with great privacy, and their transactions are little known [59]. But as soon as Constantine the Great began to declare more openly in favour of the Christian Religion, and to interest himself warmly in the affairs of the church, these assemblies of the clergy became more frequent, more splendid, and more important. They were called by the emperor, sometimes honoured with his presence, and their decrees enforced and executed by his authority. It is a demonstration that the British church was in a settled and respectable state near the begin-

[58] Gildæ Hist. Brit. c. 8. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 8.
[59] Du Pin's Eccles. Hist. v. 1. p. 192.

ning

ning of this century, that we find ſome of her clergy in one of the firſt of theſe councils which was called by the emperor. This was the council of Arles, which met in that city, A. D. 314. Among the clergy who were ſummoned to this council, and ſubſcribed its decrees, we meet with theſe following: Eborus, biſhop of York; Reſtitus, biſhop of London; Adelfius, biſhop of Colonia Londinenſium (it ſhould probably be Colonia Lindum, Lincoln); Sacerdos, a preſbyter, and Arminius, a deacon, of the ſame city [60]. This council was not very numerous, conſiſting only of thirty-three biſhops, and a ſtill ſmaller number of preſbyters and deacons, ſummoned as repreſentatives of the clergy, out of all the provinces of the weſtern empire. Of theſe biſhops there were indeed four out of the province of Vienne in Gaul, of which Arles was the capital, on account of their vicinity, but only one out of every other province; and there being only three Roman provinces then in Britain, three biſhops was its full proportion. This ſeems to intimate that the churches in Britain were at this time viewed in the ſame light, and treated on the ſame footing with thoſe of the other provinces of the empire.

Kindneſs of Conſtantine to the Chriſtian clergy.

As Conſtantine the Great became more open in his profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, he became alſo more liberal of his favours to the Chriſtian clergy, who now began to feel the cheriſhing influences of royal favour. But in this he

60 Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 42.

proceeded

proceeded with great prudence, equity, and caution, granting them only ſuch favours as did no injury or injuſtice to any other ſet of men. By one edict he exempted the Chriſtian clergy from military and other burdenſome ſervices, that they might enjoy leiſure and freedom to attend the duties of their ſacred function. By another edict he beſtowed all the goods and poſſeſſions of the late martyrs who had died without heirs, upon the church. But the famous edict which he publiſhed at Rome, July 3d, A. D. 322, was of far greater advantage to the clergy than all the reſt [61]. By this edict Conſtantine gave full liberty to perſons of all ranks, to give by their laſt wills as great a part of their eſtates as they pleaſed to the church. At Rome, and in other opulent cities, this laſt edict greatly enriched the clergy in a little time, by the liberal donations of many wealthy Chriſtians [62]. But as the Chriſtians in this iſland were not in general ſo wealthy as in ſome other countries, riches did not flow with ſo rapid a tide into the Britiſh churches as into others. The offer which the emperor Conſtantius made to the biſhops of the weſtern empire, aſſembled at the council of Ariminum, A. D. 359, to maintain them at the public charge, was refuſed by them all, except three of thoſe who came from Britain; who, not being able to maintain themſelves, choſe rather to accept of the emperor's Cent. 4.

[61] Cod. Theod. l. 16. c. 2. Euſeb. l. 10. c. 7. Zoſimen, l. 1. c. 9. Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. l. 2. c. 36.

[62] M. le Beau, Hiſt. de Bas Empire, tom. 1. p. 319.

offer,

offer, than be a burden to their brethren [63]. A proof, that all the biſhops of the weſtern empire, except a very few, were already raiſed to a ſtate of independency, within leſs than forty years after the making of the laſt-mentioned edict. So great was the zeal and liberality of the Chriſtians of theſe times!

Doctrine of the Britiſh churches in this century.

The Chriſtian church was no ſooner delivered from external violence, by the converſion of Conſtantine, than it was torn in pieces by internal diſcord; and the flames of perſecution were quickly ſucceeded by the no leſs violent and deſtructive flames of religious controverſy. The moſt fatal of theſe controverſies was that which broke out A. D. 317, between Arius, a preſbyter in the church of Alexandria, and Alexander, biſhop of that city, about the divinity of Chriſt. This diſpute was managed with great warmth, made a mighty noiſe, and in a little time deſtroyed the peace of almoſt every corner of the Chriſtian church. It is difficult to diſcover how ſoon the opinions of Arius became known in Britain, or to what degree they prevailed here in this century. If we could depend upon the teſtimony of Gildas, we ſhould be led to think, that Arianiſm had made great progreſs in this iſland, ſoon after its firſt appearance. For having deſcribed the happy and peaceful ſtate of the Britiſh church for ſome time after the concluſion of the Dioclefian perſecution; he proceeds in this ſtrain: "This

[63] Sulpit. Sever. Hiſt. l. 2.

"ſweet

"ſweet concord between Chriſt the head and his "members continued until the Arian perfidy "appeared; and like an enraged ſerpent, pour- "ing in upon us its foreign poiſon, inflamed "brethren and countrymen with the moſt cruel "hatred: and a paſſage being thus made over "the ocean, every other wild beaſt, who carried "the venom of any hereſy in his horrid mouth, "eaſily inſtilled it into the people of this country, "who are ever unſettled in their opinions, and "always fond of hearing ſomething new [64]." But the truth is, this lamentable declaimer being determined to load his unhappy countrymen with the imputation of every thing which he eſteemed bad and odious, and having a great abhorrence of all hereſy in general, and of Arianiſm in particular, repreſented them as deeply infected with that, and every other hereſy, perhaps without much ground. For the opinions of Arius had been condemned with ſo much ſolemnity by the famous council of Nice, A. D. 325 (at which it is very probable the biſhops of Britain aſſiſted), and had been oppoſed with ſo much zeal by Conſtantine the Great and his ſon Conſtans, that they made little progreſs for a long time in the weſtern provinces of the Roman empire. It is true, indeed, that at the council of Ariminum, A. D. 359, which was called by the emperor Conſtantius, who favoured the Arian party, almoſt all the biſhops of the weſt, who were there aſſembled, to

[64] Gildæ Hiſt. Brit, c. 9.

the

the number of four hundred, and, amongſt others, thoſe of Britain, ſubſcribed a creed, which differed a little from that of the council of Nice [65]. But this appears to have been the effect of mere force. For at the beginning of the council they unanimouſly declared their approbation of the Nicean creed, and pronounced anathemas againſt the errors of Arius; and after their return into their reſpective dioceſes, they renewed their former declarations in favour of the faith of Nice, and renounced their involuntary ſubſcriptions at Ariminum, as ſoon as they could do it with ſafety [66]. This is a certain proof that the opinions of Arius had as yet made little or no progreſs among the clergy in the weſtern empire; though it is at the ſame time an evidence, that the ſpirit of enduring perſecution was very much abated. St. Athanaſius, and the biſhops aſſembled in the council of Antioch, A. D. 363, aſſure the emperor Jovian, in their letter to him, that the biſhops of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, continued to adhere to the faith of the council of Nice; of which they had been informed by letters from theſe biſhops [67]. Both St. Jerome and St. Chryſoſtom ſpeak often of the orthodoxy of the Britiſh church in their writings [68]. From all which it ſeems highly probable, that the Arian

[65] Du Pin. Eccleſ. cent. 4. vol. 2. p. 263.

[66] Hilari Fragment. p. 431.

[67] Athanaſ. Græco-Lat. tom. 1. p. 399.

[68] Hieron. ad Euagrium, ad Marcil. Chryſoſt. tom. 3. p. 696. tom. 6. p. 635. tom. 8. p. 111.

opinions

opinions did not prevail much in the ancient Britiſh churches; at leaſt not in this century.

Govern. ment of the Britiſh church in cent. 4.

After the converſion of Conſtantine, he and his ſucceſſors intereſted themſelves greatly in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs, and acted as the ſupreme heads on earth of the church, as well as of the ſtate. By their authority the hierarchy was brought to an almoſt perfect conformity with the civil government of the Roman empire. In order to this, ſeveral new eccleſiaſtical dignitaries, as patriarchs, metropolitans, and archbiſhops, were eſtabliſhed in the church, to correſpond to the præfecti prætorii, vicarii, and præſides provinciarum in the ſtate[69]. According to this model there ſhould have been one metropolitan, and firſt three, then four, and at laſt five archbiſhops in Britain; as it was one vicariate under the præfectus prætorii of Gaul, and conſiſted firſt of three, afterwards of four, and at laſt of five provinces. But it ſeems probable, that this model of church government was never fully eſtabliſhed in Britain, on account of the unſettled ſtate of the country, and the poverty of the Britiſh churches, which could not well ſupport ſo many prelates of ſo high a rank agreeable to their dignity. But whatever was the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical government in the Britiſh churches in this period, there is no evidence that they were ſubject to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome, or of any foreign biſhop[70].

69 Moſheim. Hiſt. Eccleſ. ſæcul. 4. p. 155.

70 Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. ch. 3.

Rites of worſhip in the 4th century.

While the churches of Chriſt were obnoxious to the civil powers, and every moment in danger of perſecution, they performed the rites of their religious worſhip with much privacy and little pomp. This was moſt agreeable to the pure and ſpiritual nature of the Chriſtian worſhip, and moſt conducive to real piety. But after they came to enjoy ſecurity, wealth, and royal favour, they began to embelliſh their worſhip with many new-invented ceremonies, and even adopted ſome of the Pagan rites and practices with little alteration. Great numbers of magnificent churches were built, and adorned with the pictures of ſaints and martyrs, in imitation of the Heathen temples; the Chriſtian clergy officiated in a variety of habits, not much unlike thoſe of the Pagan prieſts; faſts, feſtivals, and holidays were multiplied; and, in one word, an oſtentatious and mechanical worſhip, hardly to be diſtinguiſhed in its outward appearance from that of their Heathen neighbours, was introduced in the place of pure and rational devotion[71]. The Chriſtian clergy were betrayed into this criminal and fatal imitation of their Pagan predeceſſors, partly by their vanity and love of pomp, and partly by their hopes of thereby facilitating the converſion of the Heathens. There was, indeed, an almoſt infinite variety in the forms of religious worſhip in the Chriſtian church at this time; and almoſt

[71] Moſheim. Hiſt. Eccleſ. ſæcul. 4. c. 4. p. 175. Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, in his works, vol. 3.

every particular church had ſomething peculiar in its way of worſhip. The Britiſh churches differed conſiderably from thoſe of Gaul, and ſtill more from thoſe of Italy, in their public ſervice, and had not as yet departed ſo far from the genuine ſimplicity of the Goſpel [72]. The Britiſh Chriſtians, however, of this age did not want their ſhare of ſuperſtition; of which it will be ſufficient to give one example. About this time it began to be imagined, that there was much ſanctity in ſome particular places, and much merit in viſiting them. The places which were eſteemed moſt ſacred, and were moſt viſited, were thoſe about Jeruſalem, which had been the ſcenes of our Saviour's actions and ſufferings. To theſe holy places prodigious numbers of pilgrims crowded from all parts of the Chriſtian world, and particularly from Britain. "Though the Britons "(ſays St. Jerome) are ſeparated from our world "by the intervening ocean, yet ſuch of them "as have made any great progreſs in religion, "leaving the diſtant regions of the Weſt, viſit "thoſe ſacred places at Jeruſalem, which are "known to them only by fame, and the rela-"tions of Holy Scripture [73]." Nay, ſome of theſe deluded ſuperſtitious vagabonds, who had more ſtrength or more zeal than others, went as far as Syria, to ſee the famous ſelf-tormentor Simeon Stylites, who lived fifty-ſix years on the

[72] Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 216, &c.
[73] Hieron. tom. 1. epiſt. 17.

top of a high pillar. "Many people came to "see him (ſays Theodoret, his hiſtorian) from "the moſt remote corners of the Weſt, particu- "larly from Spain, Gaul, and Britain [74]."

Origin of the monaſtic life in Britain.

In this century, a new order of eccleſiaſtics appeared in Europe. Theſe were the monks, or regular clergy, who, in proceſs of time, made a moſt conſpicuous figure in the Chriſtian church, and, by profeſſing poverty, and pretending to renounce the world, arrived at a prodigious pitch of worldly wealth and power. This extraordinary order had its origin in Egypt, the native country and favourite ſoil of ſuperſtition. In the times of perſecution ſeveral Chriſtians in Egypt retired into deſerts to avoid its fury, and there lived a very ſolitary and abſtemious life, ſubſiſting for the moſt part on the pure element, and the ſpontaneous productions of the earth. St. Anthony, the father of the monaſtic life, was one of theſe ſolitaries, and acquired ſo great a fame for ſanctity, that many perſons flocked around him in his retirement, and put themſelves under his conduct. Theſe he formed into fraternities about the beginning of this century, placed them in monaſteries, and gave them rules for their behaviour [75]. St. Pachomius and Hilarion, two of his admirers, ſoon after founded monaſteries in Egypt, Paleſtine, and Syria; and the Eaſt was in a few years overrun with theſe wretched fanatics, who ſeemed to think that the perfection of reli-

74 Theodoret. Philotheus, c. 26.

75 Acta Sanctorum, tom 2. p. 107.

gion

gion conſiſted in being uſeleſs and miſerable. This ſpirit penetrated into Europe about the middle of this century, and unhappily prevailed almoſt as much in the Weſt as it had done in the Eaſt[76]. It is difficult to diſcover at what time the monaſtic life was introduced into this iſland, and to what degree it prevailed in the ancient Britiſh church. For no regard is due to the abſurd and impoſſible ſtories of our monks of the middle ages, about the famous monaſteries which were built here in the days of king Lucius[77]. Nor can we give credit to all the extraordinary things which are told us by the ſame authors, of the famous Britiſh monaſtery of Banchor, not far from Cheſter, which contained, as they pretend, no fewer than two thouſand one hundred monks, divided into ſeven courſes, each courſe containing three hundred[78]. But though this is probably very much exaggerated, we have reaſon to believe in general, that there were monks and monaſteries in Britain before the end of this century, as well as in the other provinces of the weſtern empire, and particularly one at Banchor Monachorum. There was one very eſſential difference between theſe ancient Britiſh monks, and thoſe who ſucceeded them in after-times. The Britiſh monks of Banchor, and no doubt in other places, ſupported themſelves in a frugal manner, by the work of their own hands; and while a certain number

[76] Moſheim Hiſt. Eccleſ. ſæcul. 4. c. 3.
[77] Uſſerii Brit. Eccleſ. primord. p. 194.
[78] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 2.

of them were performing the offices of religion, the reſt were employed in labour, by a regular rotation[79]. But the monks who ſucceeded them, in the middle ages, were maintained in ſloth and luxury, by the miſtaken charity and profuſe donations of kings, nobles, and other wealthy perſons.

Cent. 5. From the beginning of the fifth century to the arrival of the Saxons, the inhabitants of South Britain were involved in a variety and ſucceſſion of national calamities, which ſeemed to threaten their ruin and extirpation. Beſides the deſolating evils of war, peſtilence, and famine (mentioned in the firſt chapter of this book), they were diſtracted and torn in pieces by religious diſputes, in this unhappy period. Theſe diſputes were occaſioned by the introduction and ſpreading of the peculiar opinions of Pelagius, which were maintained by ſome, and impugned by others with the moſt vehement and acrimonious zeal. This famous hereſiarch was a native of Britain; which might be one reaſon why his opinions met with ſo favourable a reception, and ſo many advocates in this iſland[80]. It is not neceſſary to enumerate all the opinions of Pelagius: the moſt important and plauſible of them were theſe following: "That Adam was "naturally mortal, and would have died though "he had not ſinned—That Adam's ſin affected "only himſelf, but not his poſterity; and that

[79] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 2.

[80] Id. l. 1. c. 10.

"children

"children at their birth are as pure and in-
"nocent as Adam was at his creation—That
"the grace of God is not neceſſary to enable
"men to do their duty, to overcome tempta-
"tion, and even to attain perfection; but they
"may do all this by the freedom of their own
"wills, and the exertion of their natural
"powers[81]." Theſe opinions, ſo ſoothing to the pride of men, were propagated in Britain with great ſucceſs by ſome of the diſciples of Pelagius, particularly by one named Agricola, the ſon of Severianus, a biſhop; while Pelagius himſelf, and his other followers, Celeſtus a Scotſman, and Julianus of Campania, were employed in the ſame work at Rome and other places[82].

Public diſputation between the orthodox and the Pelagians.

The orthodox clergy in Britain did every thing in their power to put a ſtop to the progreſs of theſe errors; but finding all their efforts in vain, and that they were not ſo expert in the arts of controverſy as their ſubtile adverſaries, they ſent into Gaul for aſſiſtance in this ſpiritual warfare. The biſhops of Gaul, being aſſembled in a great council, appointed two of their number, Germanus biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus biſhop of Troyes, to go to the aſſiſtance of their brethren in Britain, who were ſo hard preſſed. The two good biſhops cheerfully obeyed

[81] Uſſer. Eccleſ. Britan. primord. p. 218. Concil. Lab. tom. 3. p. 1529.

[82] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 10—17.

the appointment, and embarked for the ſcene of action; but when they had proceeded about half way on their voyage, with a favourable gale, the Devil (who it ſeems was a great friend to the Pelagians) raiſed a moſt violent ſtorm with a deſign to drown them: from which however they eſcaped by a miracle. At their arrival on the Britiſh ſhore, they found a great multitude of orthodox Chriſtians waiting to receive them; having got intelligence of their approach in a very extraordinary way [83]. The biſhops, without delay, engaged in the important work on which they were ſent, and by their preaching, ſometimes in the churches, and ſometimes in the highways and open fields, they filled the whole iſland with the fame of their virtues, their learning, and eloquence; confirmed the orthodox in their faith; and reclaimed many of the Pelagians from their errors. The champions of Pelagianiſm were at firſt diſpirited, and declined the combat; but ſeeing themſelves in danger of loſing all their reputation, and all their followers, they took heart, and challenged their formidable adverſaries to a publick diſputation. This challenge was joyfully accepted by Germanus and Lupus, and both parties came to the field of battle (which was probably at Verulamium) attended by a numerous train of their

[83] Some evil ſpirits (ſays Bede) being diſpoſſeſſed by the exorciſts, were conſtrained to tell the ſtory of the tempeſt, and the approach of the Biſhops.

friends and followers; and a prodigious multitude of other people came alſo to the place, to hear and judge for themſelves, on which ſide the truth lay. The external appearances and real characters of the two contending parties at this famous congreſs, it is ſaid, were very different. The Pelagian champions and their chief followers were richly dreſſed, and full of pride and preſumptuous confidence in their own abilities: the two biſhops and their attendants were very plain in their attire, diffident of themſelves, and devoutly depending on divine aſſiſtance. The Pelagian orators opened the debate, and ſpent a great deal of time in making an oſtentatious diſplay of their eloquence, and in long rhetorical ſpeeches, which contained little ſolid argument, and produced no conviction. When they had finiſhed their harangues, the venerable prelates ſtood up, and poured forth ſuch an irreſiſtible torrent of arguments from Scripture, reaſon, and the teſtimonies of authors, as quite confounded and ſilenced their adverſaries, and fully convinced their hearers. The ſurrounding multitudes teſtified their aſſent and approbation by the loudeſt acclamations, and were with great difficulty reſtrained from knocking the Pelagian champions on the head [84].

Germanus and Lupus continued ſome time in Britain after they obtained this complete victory over the Pelagians, confirming the Britiſh Chriſ- Germanus and Lupus, having finiſh-

[84] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 17.

ed their work in Britain, return into Gaul.

tians in the right faith by their reaſoning and preaching, and (as the monkiſh hiſtorians tell us) by their miracles. Germanus had, it ſeems, brought with him a very large and valuable cargo of relics of all the apoſtles, and of many martyrs, which he depoſited in the tomb of St. Alban the proto-martyr of Britain. This precious hoard was opened ſome ages after in the preſence of king Offa, and all the relics were found very freſh and in good keeping, and proved a very valuable treaſure to the monks of St. Albans[85]. They did not indeed enjoy this treaſure without rivals, for the monks of St. Pantaleon at Cologn, affirmed that St. Germanus was ſo far from leaving any relics in Britain, that he brought away with him from thence the body of St. Alban, which he depoſited at Rome, and which was from thence transferred to their monaſtery by the empreſs Theophania, A. D. 986. To demonſtrate the truth of this aſſertion, they produced the body of the holy martyr, far freſher, and in much better condition, than that at St. Albans in England[86]. Such were the groſs and monſtrous frauds of the monks of the middle ages, to deceive the world and enrich themſelves! Germanus and Lupus having at length finiſhed the work for which they had come into Britain, prepared to return into Gaul, when they were detained ſome time

[85] Math. Florileg. Hiſt. ad annum 794.
[86] Surius Vita Sanctor. Jan. 28. tom. 3.

longer

longer by a very ſtrange accident. The Devil, being very much provoked at Germanus for the defeat of his friends the Pelagians, laid a ſnare for him, and the ſaint falling into it, ſtrained his foot. This was a piece of very ill-judged malice, by which the Devil did his friends no ſervice; as it gave Germanus an opportunity of working a great many more miracles. The Scots and Picts, who had no hand in the ſaint's misfortune, ſuffered greatly from it. For theſe two nations happening to invade South Britain in this interval, they were totally and ſhamefully defeated by Germanus at the head of the Britiſh army, merely by crying out Alleluja three or four times, in which cry he was joined by all his troops. At laſt the two good biſhops, having triumphed over both the ſpiritual and carnal enemies of the Britons, ſet ſail for Gaul, and by their own merits, and the interceſſion of St. Alban, who was much pleaſed with the compliment of the relics he had received from them, they obtained a ſafe and pleaſant paſſage [87]. The reader cannot fail to obſerve, that this account of Germanus's firſt expedition into Britain, which is taken from venerable Bede, one of the beſt and moſt learned of our monkiſh hiſtorians, makes a ridiculous appearance, through that tincture of the marvellous which runs through it. But it would have appeared ten times more ridiculous, if all the wonderful cir-

[87] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 19, 20.

cumſtances

cumſtances which are mentioned by that author and other monks, had been inſerted. This prodigious delight in mixing marvellous legends with all their narrations relating to religion and the ſaints, was the reigning taſte of thoſe dark ages, from which the moſt upright and intelligent writers could not emancipate themſelves. Nor does this very much impair their credit, or diminiſh their uſe, ſince it is not, for the moſt part, very difficult to diſtinguiſh what is legendary from what is true, or at leaſt probable; in their narrations.

Second expedition of Germanus into Britain.

Though the advocates for the Pelagian opinions had been ſilenced by the arguments, or intimidated by the authority of Germanus and Lupus, yet it plainly appears that they had not been convinced. For theſe two prelates were no ſooner gone, than they began to propagate their heretical notions with as much zeal, and, which is more ſurpriſing, with as much ſucceſs as ever. Nor had the orthodox clergy profited ſo much by the inſtructions of their late venerable coadjutors, as to be able to defend their own cauſe, but were obliged to apply to them a ſecond time for their aſſiſtance. The wretched Britons, in this period, ſeem to have been ſunk into ſuch a ſtate of imbecility in their minds, as well as bodies, that they could make as little reſiſtance againſt their ſpiritual as againſt their ſecular enemies. Germanus having heard of the diſtreſs of his friends, and danger of the orthodox faith, haſtened to their relief and ſupport, accompanied

companied by Severus biſhop of Treves, a diſciple of his former companion Lupus. The two biſhops, at their arrival, were pleaſed to find that the defection from the right faith had not been ſo great as they had apprehended; and immediately applied themſelves with great zeal to accompliſh the deſign of their miſſion. For this purpoſe they preached and reaſoned with great eloquence and power (to ſay nothing of their working miracles), and thereby reclaimed ſuch as had apoſtatized, and confirmed thoſe who were wavering. On this occaſion, however, theſe good biſhops did not think fit to depend entirely on the efficacy of their ſpiritual weapons, but called in the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm, and procured the baniſhment of the chief Pelagians out of the iſland. By theſe means the orthodox faith was reſtored, and remained, for a long time, pure and inviolated [88].

It is a little ſtrange that theſe two expeditions of Germanus into Britain are not mentioned by Gildas, the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, who flouriſhed only about a century after. This muſt be owing either to his intended brevity, or imperfect information. For as they are related at great length by Conſtantius, a monk of Auxerre, who wrote the life of Germanus, not many years after his death, we have little reaſon to doubt of their reality [89]. There are alſo great diverſity

[88] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 21.

[89] Id. l. 1. c. 17. not. 1 by Dr. Smith.

of

of opinions about the particular years in which theſe expeditions happened. It is ſufficient to ſay, that they muſt have happened ſome time between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons. For Germanus became biſhop of Auxerre, A. D. 418, a very few years before the final departure of the Romans, and died A. D. 448, only one year before the arrival of the Saxons[90]. This laſt event produced a melancholy revolution in the ſtate of religion in Britain, which, together with the converſion of the Saxons to the Chriſtian Religion, and their church hiſtory, will be the ſubject of the ſecond chapter of the ſecond book of this work.

[90] Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 209. Uſſer. primord. Eccleſ. Britan. p. 382.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of the conſtitution, government, and laws of Great Britain, from the firſt invaſion of it by the Romans, under Julius Cæſar, A. A. C. 55, to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

SECTION I.

A brief account of the names, ſituations, limits, and other circumſtances of the ſeveral nations which inhabited Great Britain before it was invaded and conquered by the Romans; and of the changes that were made in the ſtate of theſe nations, and of their country, by that conqueſt.

NEXT to the laws and ſanctions of religion, thoſe of civil government have the greateſt influence on the manners and characters of nations, as well as on their fortunes and external

The great influence of laws on manners.

ternal circumſtances. On the one hand, wiſe and equitable laws, a mild, prudent, and ſteady adminiſtration, contribute very much to render a people wiſe and virtuous, as well as great and happy: on the other hand, unjuſt and oppreſſive conſtitutions, a cruel and deſpotic exerciſe of authority, tend as much to debaſe their minds as to depreſs their fortunes, to make them worthleſs as to make them wretched. It is impoſſible therefore to form juſt ideas of the character and manners of any people, in any period of their hiſtory, or to account for them, without an attentive inveſtigation of the conſtitution of their government, the nature and ſpirit of their laws, the forms of their judicial proceedings, and other particulars of their police. For theſe are the great hinges on which both the characters and fortunes of nations have always turned. Whenever any remarkable revolution hath happened in the conſtitution and government of any people, either for the better or the worſe, that revolution hath always been attended, or very ſoon followed, by a proportional change in the ſpirit, character, and manners of that people. The truth of theſe obſervations might be demonſtrated, if it were neceſſary, by examples out of the hiſtory of every nation. On this account, and for ſeveral other reaſons, we have devoted the third chapter of every book of this work to a brief, but careful inveſtigation of the conſtitution, government, and laws of the inhabitants of Great Britain, in the ſeveral ſucceſſive periods of their hiſtory.

The

The fathers and heads of families were the firſt ſovereigns, and the patriarchal was the moſt ancient form of government amongſt mankind. This is ſo evident, from the whole ſtrain of ancient hiſtory; ſo agreeable to reaſon and the natural courſe of things; and ſo univerſally acknowledged, that it is quite unneceſſary to ſpend any time in proving it[t]. The firſt ſtates or civil ſocieties, therefore, in every country were no other than large families, clans, or tribes, conſiſting of brothers, ſiſters, couſins, and other near relations, living in the ſame diſtrict, under the protection and government of their common parent, or of his repreſentative, the head of the tribe or family. In theſe ſmall patriarchal ſtates there was little need of poſitive laws to limit the authority of the ſovereign, or ſecure the obedience of the ſubjects. The ſtrong ties of nature, and the warm feelings of mutual affection, ſupplied the place of laws on both ſides. The patriarchal ſovereign, viewing his ſubjects as his family, his deareſt friends, and near relations, exerciſed his authority with mildneſs; and the ſubjects, looking upon their ſovereign as their parent, the chief and head of their family, whoſe honour and intereſt were inſeparable from their own, obeyed with cheerfulneſs.

The firſt form of government patriarchal.

But this patriarchal government, in its moſt pure and ſimple form, was probably not of very

Succeeded by the monarchical.

[t] Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 10, 11. Gen. c. 38. Hom. Odyſſ. l. 9. v. 107. and Plato de Leg. l. 3. p. 806.

long

long continuance in any country. For as theſe diſtinct and independent tribes became each more and more numerous, they gradually approached nearer to one another; diſputes aroſe between them, about their limits, their properties, the honour and dignity of their chiefs, and many other things. Theſe diſputes produced wars; and each of the contending clans, in order to defend themſelves and annoy their enemies, contracted the moſt intimate alliances with one or more neighbouring clans, which were thereby, in a little time, conſolidated into one large ſociety or ſtate. In this manner, and perhaps in ſeveral other ways, a great number of petty ſtates or kingdoms were formed in almoſt every country with whoſe hiſtory we are acquainted. Theſe ancient kingdoms conſiſted of two, three, four, or more tribes or clanſhips, under one king, who was commonly the head of the chief clan of which the ſtate was compoſed; while each of the heads of the other tribes ſtill retained a great degree of authority in his own tribe.

Many ſmall kingdoms in Britain when invaded by the Romans.

This ſeems to have been the ſtate of ſociety and government, both in Gaul and Britain, when they were firſt invaded by the Romans. Both theſe countries were then poſſeſſed by many petty ſtates, governed by kings, or chief magiſtrates under ſome other denomination, independent of, and, for the moſt part, at war with one another. In each of theſe little ſtates or kingdoms there were ſeveral chieftains, who governed each his own

own tribe with a kind of ſubordinate authority. With reſpect to Gaul, while Tacitus tells us, that it was inhabited by ſixty-four different ſtates, Appian aſſures us, that it contained no fewer than four hundred different nations [2]. Theſe two accounts are not really contradictory; as the former reſpects the kingdoms, and the latter the tribes of which theſe kingdoms were compoſed. According to this proportion of ſixty-four kingdoms, and four hundred tribes, each of theſe Gauliſh kingdoms, one with another, contained about ſix tribes or clanſhips. Britain was in the ſame condition when it was firſt invaded by the Romans; containing many independent ſtates, each compoſed of ſeveral tribes or clanſhips. Of this it will be ſufficient to give one deciſive proof. When Cæſar invaded Britain, the Cantii, or people of Kent, formed one of the Britiſh kingdoms; and yet that illuſtrious writer mentions no fewer than four kings in Kent at the ſame time, which could be no other than the chieftains or heads of ſo many clans or families of which that little kingdom was compoſed [3].

Deſcription of theſe kingdoms.

Before we proceed to ſpeak of the conſtitution and laws of theſe ancient Britiſh kingdoms, it may not be improper to give a very brief deſcription of them; pointing out the ſituation, limits, and chief places in each of them, with the time and manner in which they ceaſed to be independ-

[2] Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 44. Appian. de Bel. civil. Pop. Rom. l. 2. p. 71.

[3] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 18.

ent ſtates, and fell under the dominion of the Romans. This will enable us to form diſtinct ideas of the political ſtate of our country when it was invaded by the Romans, and of the changes which were made in it by that invaſion. In giving this deſcription, we ſhall begin at the ſouth-weſt point of Britain, and proceed to its north-eaſt extremity.

Danmonii. 1. The Danmonii inhabited the ſouth-weſt parts of Britain. The name of this ancient Britiſh nation is differently written by different authors. By Solinus they are called Dumnani; by Ravennas, Domnii; and by Ptolemy, Danmonii; and all the conjectures that have been made concerning the derivation of theſe names are vague and uncertain[4]. The Danmonii ſeem to have inhabited that tract of country which is now called Cornwall and Devonſhire, bounded on the ſouth by the Britiſh Ocean, on the weſt by St. George's Channel, on the north by the Severn Sea, and on the eaſt by the country of the Durotriges[5]. Some other Britiſh tribes were alſo ſeated within theſe limits; as the Coſſini and Oſtidamnii, which were probably particular clans of the Danmonii; and, according to Mr. Baxter, they were the keepers of their flocks and herds[6]. As the ſeveral tribes of the Danmonii ſubmitted without much reſiſtance to the Romans, and never joined in any revolt againſt them, that

4 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 108.
5 Camd. Brit. p. 2.
6 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 190.

people

people were under no neceſſity of building many forts, or keeping many garriſons in their country. This is the reaſon why ſo few Roman antiquities have been found in that country, and ſo little mention is made of it and its ancient inhabitants by Roman writers. Ptolemy names a few places, both on the ſea-coaſts and in the inland parts of this country, which were known to, and frequented by the Romans. The moſt conſiderable of theſe places are the two famous promontories of Bolerium and Ocrinum, now the Landſend and the Lizard; and the towns of Iſca Danmonorium and Tamare, now Exeter and Saltaſh [7]. As the Danmonii ſubmitted ſo tamely to the Romans, they might perhaps permit them to live, for ſome time at leaſt, under their own princes and their own laws; a privilege which we know they granted to ſome other Britiſh ſtates. In the moſt perfect ſtate of the Roman government in Britain, the country of the Danmonii made a part of the province called Flavia Cæſarienſis, and was governed by the preſident of that province. After the departure of the Romans, kingly government was immediately revived amongſt the Danmonii in the perſon of Vortigern, who was perhaps deſcended from the race of their ancient princes, as his name ſignifies in the Britiſh language a chieftain, or the head of a family.

[7] See Appendix.

Durotriges.

2. The Durotriges were ſeated next to the Danmonii, on the eaſt ſide, and poſſeſſed that country which is now called Dorſetſhire[8]. The name of this ancient Britiſh nation is evidently derived from the two Britiſh words Dur, water, and Trigo, to dwell; and it is no leſs evident, that they got their name from the ſituation of their country, which lies along the ſea coaſt. It is not very certain whether the Durotriges formed an independent ſtate under a prince of their own, or were united with their neighbours the Danmonii; as they were reduced by Veſpaſian under the dominion of the Romans, at the ſame time, and with the ſame eaſe, and never revolted[9]. The peaceable diſpoſition of the inhabitants was probably the reaſon that the Romans had ſo few towns, forts, and garriſons in this pleaſant country. Dorcheſter, its preſent capital, ſeems to have been a Roman city of ſome conſideration, though our antiquaries are not agreed about its Roman name. It is moſt probable that it was the Durnovaria in the 12th Iter of Antoninus. Many Roman coins have been found at Dorcheſter; the military way, called Jeening-Street, paſſed through it; and ſome veſtiges of the ancient ſtone wall with which it was ſurrounded, and of the amphitheatre with which it was adorned, are ſtill viſible[10]. The country of the Durotriges was included in the Roman province called Flavia

[8] Camd. Brit. p. 51.
[9] Eutrop. l. 5. c. 8.
[10] Stukely Itin. curioſ. p. 153, 154, &c.

Cæſarienſis,

Cæſarienſis, and governed by the preſident of that province, as long as the Romans kept any footing in theſe parts.

3. To the eaſt of the Durotriges, on the ſame coaſt, were ſeated the Belgæ, who inhabited the countries now called Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Somerſetſhire [11]. When Cæſar invaded Britain, ſome part of this country was poſſeſſed by the Segontiaci, whoſe chief town was Wincheſter, called by the Britons, Caer-ſeguent, from the name of theſe its ancient inhabitants [12]. But this people ſeem to have been ſoon after ſubdued by, and incorporated with, the Belgæ, as they are never afterwards mentioned. The name of the Belgæ diſcovers their origin, and demonſtrates that they were a colony of that great and powerful nation of the ſame name, who inhabited a great part of Gaul, and are deſcribed by Cæſar, in the beginning of his commentaries. There are many arguments to prove, that all the ancient inhabitants of Britain originally came from Gaul, at different times, and under many different leaders; and that as one wave impels another towards the ſhore, ſo theſe ſucceſſive colonies drove each other further and further north, till the whole iſland was peopled. But the time and other circumſtances of the arrival of theſe firſt colonies in this iſland, are buried in the impenetrable ſhades of antiquity, except a few of the lateſt of them, who ſettled here not very long before the Roman Belgæ.

[11] Camd. Brit. p. 67. [12] Muſgrave Belg. Brit. p. 42.

invaſion. With reſpect to theſe laſt colonies who inhabited the ſouth parts of Britain, we have the expreſs teſtimony of Cæſar, that they came from Gaul. "The ſea-coaſt of Britain is peopled with "Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war "and plunder. Theſe laſt paſſing over from "different parts, and ſettling in the country, "ſtill retain the names of the ſeveral ſtates from "whence they are deſcended[13]." The lateſt of theſe Belgic colonies came into Britain only a few years before Cæſar's invaſion. This colony was conducted by Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſiones, one of the moſt powerful of the Belgic nations in Gaul, and having obtained a footing on the Britiſh coaſt, he continued to reign over our Belgæ in this iſland, as well as over his ancient ſubjects on the continent[14]. He was ſucceeded in his continental territories by Galba, and in his Britiſh dominions by another of his ſons, perhaps Segonax, who attempted to deſtroy Cæſar's fleet[15]. Though the Segontiaci ſubmitted to Cæſar, we hear nothing of the ſubmiſſion of the Belgæ to that conqueror. The honour of ſubduing that Britiſh nation was reſerved to Veſpaſian, who, landing an army in theſe parts, A. D. 49, fought thirty-two battles, took more than twenty towns, ſubdued two very powerful nations (one of which was the Belgæ) and the Iſle of Wight[16]. After this time the

[13] Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 10.
[14] Id. l. 2. c. 9.
[15] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 214.
[16] Sueton. in vita Veſpaſ.

country

country of the Belgæ was much frequented by the Romans, who made in it many excellent military ways, and built ſeveral beautiful towns, which are mentioned both by Ptolemy and Antoninus [17]. The moſt remarkable of theſe towns were Venta Belgarum, Wincheſter, famous for the imperial weavery which was there eſtabliſhed; and Aquæ Solis, Bath, even then renowned for its warm and ſalutary ſprings. The country of the Belgæ was alſo included in the Roman province called Flavia Cæſarienſis, and governed by the preſident of that province and his inferior officers.

Bibroci.

4. To the north-eaſt of the Belgæ were ſeated the Bibroci, who inhabited that country, or at leaſt a part of it, which is now called Berkſhire [18]. The name of this people leads us to the diſcovery of their origin, as well as of the place of their reſidence in this iſland. For they certainly came from that part of Gaul where the town called Bibrax was ſituated, which belonged to the Rhemi, and was attacked with ſo much fury by the other Belgic nations, becauſe it had declared for Cæſar [19]. It is not certainly known when this colony of the Bibroci left their native country and ſettled in Britain, though it is probable that it was not very long before Cæſar's invaſion, to whom, perhaps, they were engaged to ſubmit by the influence and example of their friends and countrymen in Gaul. As the Bibroci were but

17 See Appendix.—Muſgrave's Belg. Brit. c. 4, 5, 6.

18 Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 41. Camd. Brit. p. 170.

19 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 2. c. 7.

a ſmall nation, they ſeem to have been ſubdued by ſome of their neighbours before the invaſion under Claudius, which is the reaſon they are no further mentioned in hiſtory. The name of the hundred of Bray in Berkſhire is evidently derived from the name of theſe its ancient inhabitants; as the ancient Bibracte in France now bears the ſame name of Bray.

Attrebatii. 5. The Attrebatii were ſeated next to the Bibroci, in part of Berkſhire and part of Oxfordſhire[20]. This was one of thoſe Belgic colonies which had come out of Gaul into Britain, and there retained their ancient name. For the Attrebatii were a tribe of the Belgæ, who inhabited that country which is now called Artois. They are mentioned by Cæſar among the nations which compoſed the Belgic confederacy againſt him; and the quota of troops which they engaged to furniſh on that occaſion was fifteen thouſand[21]. Comius of Arras was a king or chieftain among the Attrebatii in Gaul in Cæſar's time, and he ſeems to have poſſeſſed ſome authority, or at leaſt ſome influence, over our Attrebatii in Britain; for he was ſent by Cæſar to perſuade them to ſubmiſſion[22]. This circumſtance makes it probable that this colony of the Attrebatii had not been ſettled in Britain very long before that time. The Attrebatii were among thoſe Britiſh tribes which ſubmitted to Cæſar; nor do we hear of

[20] Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 27.
[21] Cæſ. Bel. Gal.
[22] Id. l. 4. c. 19.

any

any remarkable reſiſtance they made againſt the Romans at their next invaſion under Claudius. It is indeed probable, that before the time of this ſecond invaſion they had been ſubdued by ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, perhaps by the powerful nation of the Cattivellauni, which may be the reaſon they are ſo little mentioned in hiſtory. Calliva Attrebatum, mentioned in the ſeventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Itinera of Antoninus, and called by Ptolemy, Calcua, ſeems to have been the capital of the Attrebatii; though our antiquaries differ in their ſentiments about the ſituation of this ancient city, ſome of them placing it at Wallingford, and others at Ilcheſter[23]. It is not very certain, whether the country of the Bibroci and the Attrebatii was within the Roman province called Britannia Prima, or in that called Flavia Cæſarienſis, though it ſeems moſt probable that it was in the laſt of theſe provinces.

Ancalites.

6. Before we leave theſe parts and return to the ſea-coaſt, it may be proper to obſerve, that the people called Ancalites were ſeated near the Attrebatii, and were probably a clan of that nation. Mr. Baxter thinks they were the Ceangi, or herdſmen and ſhepherds of the Attrebatii, and poſſeſſed thoſe parts of Oxfordſhire and Buckinghamſhire which were moſt proper for paſturage[24]. After they were ſubdued by the Romans, the

[23] Camd. Brit. p. 164. Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 366.
[24] Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 14.

govern-

government of them, with that of ſome other neighbouring ſtates, was beſtowed upon Cogidunus, the Britiſh king of the Dobuni, as a reward for his early ſubmiſſion and great fidelity to the Romans.

Regni. 7. To the eaſt of the Belgæ, and to the ſouth of the Attrebatii, were ſeated the Regni, in the country now called Surrey and Suſſex [25]. As this people poſſeſſed ſo large a tract of the ſea-coaſt in the ſouth of this iſland, it is highly probable they had come from the continent and ſettled here not very long before the Roman invaſion, perhaps at the ſame time with their neighbours the Belgæ. For the Belgæ and the Regni had been near neighbours on the continent; the one having come from the country of the Sueſſiones, now Soiſſons; and the other from the country of the Rhemi, now Reims. The Regni, like all the other Belgic Britons, early ſubmitted to the Roman power, and continued ſteady in their obedience, without engaging in any revolt. We know not who was ſovereign of the Regni when they ſubmitted to the Romans, but ſoon after their ſubmiſſion they were put under the government of Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni. For this prince, who was then very young, had got ſo much into the favour of the Emperor Claudius and his miniſters, that he was not only allowed to keep his own dominions, but he had ſeveral other neighbouring ſtates put under his autho-

[25] Camd. Brit. p. 179.

rity.

rity [26]. It ſeems probable, from a famous inſcription diſcovered at Chicheſter, that Cogidunus governed the Regni, in quality of the emperor's lieutenant, or legatus Auguſti; for on that inſcription he is ſo ſtyled [27]. He continued a faithful and uſeful friend and ally to the Romans above ſixty years, which ſo endeared him to that people, that, according to their cuſtom in other countries, they permitted his poſterity to ſucceed him, perhaps for ſeveral generations [28]. Though the Regni, therefore, were very early and very obedient ſubjects of the Roman empire, yet as they were long after under the immediate government of Britiſh princes, few of the Romans ſeem to have ſettled amongſt them. This is certainly the reaſon that we meet with ſo few veſtiges of that great and active people in thoſe countries, which were anciently inhabited by the Regni. Chicheſter was certainly a conſiderable place in the Roman times, and probably the capital of the Regni, from whence it was called Regnum by the Romans [29]. The Neomagus of Ptolemy, and the Noviomagus of the Itinerary, was a city of the Regni, and moſt probably ſituated at or near Croydon [30]. In the moſt perfect ſtate of the Roman government in Britain, the country of the Regni made a part of the province called Flavia Cæſarienſis, and was governed by the preſident of that province.

[26] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 14.
[27] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 332.
[28] Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 62, 63.
[29] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 441.
[30] Id. p. 423.

8. Next

Cantii. 8. Next to the Regni eaſtward were ſeated the Cantii, inhabiting that country which from them was anciently called Cantium, now Kent[31]. The name of this country and of its inhabitants was moſt probable derived from the Britiſh word Cant, which ſignifies an angle or Corner[32]. It is highly probably, that this was the firſt diſtrict in Britain which received a colony from the continent; and that it had frequently changed its maſters, by new colonies coming over from time to time, and driving the inhabitants further north. In the midſt of all theſe revolutions it ſtill retained its ancient name (which was ſo agreeable to its ſhape and ſituation), and gave the ſame name to all the ſucceſſive tribes by which it was inhabited. Thoſe who poſſeſſed it at the time of the firſt Roman invaſion were evidently of Belgic origin, and had come over ſo lately, that they differed in nothing from their countrymen on the continent. "The inhabit-"ants of Kent (ſays Cæſar) are the moſt ci-"vilized of all the Britons, and differ but very "little in their manners from the Gauls[33]." This great reſemblance between the people of Kent and their neighbours on the continent, might be partly owing to the ſituation of their country, which, being neareſt to the continent, was moſt frequented by ſtrangers from thence. It was this ſituation alſo which expoſed them to

[31] Camd. Brit. p. 215.
[32] Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 66.
[33] Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5, c. 10.

the

the firſt aſſaults of the Romans. For Cæſar, in both his expeditions into this iſland, landed in Kent; and therefore we may conclude, that the Cantii had a great ſhare in the vigorous oppoſition that was made to his landing, and in the ſeveral battles and ſkirmiſhes which were fought againſt him after his landing; particularly, they made a very bold but unſucceſsful attempt upon his naval camp. The Cantii did not make the ſame vigorous reſiſtance to the Romans on their next invaſion in the reign of Claudius. For Aulus Plautius, the Roman general in that expedition, traverſed their country without ſeeing an enemy; and as they now ſubmitted to the power of Rome without a ſtruggle, ſo they continued in a ſtate of quiet ſubmiſſion to it to the very laſt [34]. The ſituation of Cantium occaſioned its being much frequented by the Romans, who generally took their way through it in their marches to and from the continent. Few places in Britain are more frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, than Rutupium and Portus Rutupenſis, moſt probably Richborough and Stonar [35]. Rutupium was the ſame in thoſe times, that Dover is in ours; the uſual place of embarking for, and landing from, the continent. Before the final departure of the Romans out of Britain, Portus Dubris, now Dover, had become a conſiderable place, and a

34 Dio. l. 60.

35 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 13. Lucan. l. 5. v. 67. Juven. Sat. 4. v. 140.

well-

well-frequented harbour, where the third Iter of Antoninus ends, and from whence they often embarked for Gaul[35]. Portus Lemanus, ſuppoſed to be Lime near Weſt Hythe, was alſo a noted ſea-port in theſe times, and the termination of the fourth Iter of Antoninus[37]. Durobrivæ and Durovernum, now Rocheſter and Canterbury, were both Roman towns and ſtations, and are often mentioned in the Itinerary and other books[38]. Beſides theſe, there were ſeveral other Roman ſtations, towns, and ports in Cantium, which need not be particularly enumerated here[39]. Cantium, in the moſt perfect ſtate of the Roman government, made a part of the province which was called Flavia Cæſarienſis.

Trinobantes.

9. The Trinobantes, or Trinouantes, were ſeated next to the Cantii northward, and inhabited that country which now compoſes the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, and ſome part of Surrey[40]. The name of this Britiſh nation ſeems to be derived from the three following Britiſh words; Tri, Now, Hant, which ſignify the inhabitants of the new city. This name was perhaps given them by their neighbours, on account of their having newly come from the continent into Britain, and having there founded a city called Tri-now, or the new City, the moſt ancient name of the renowned metropolis of

[35] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 426. [37] Id. ibid.
[38] Id. p. 424, 425. [39] Id. p. 487..485.
[40] Camd. Brit. p. 363. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 230.

Britain [41]. The Trinobantes had come ſo lately from Belgium, that they ſeem hardly to have been firmly eſtabliſhed in Britain at the time of the firſt Roman invaſion. For their new city, which ſoon after became ſo famous, was then ſo inconſiderable, that it is not mentioned by Cæſar, though he muſt have been within ſight of the place where it was ſituated. They were then at war with their neighbours, the Cattivellauni, whoſe king, Caſſibelanus, commanded the confederated Britons againſt the Romans; and, on this account, the Trinobantes were amongſt the firſt of the Britiſh ſtates who deſerted that confederacy and ſubmitted to Cæſar [42]. They ſubmitted again to the Romans, on their next invaſion in the reign of Claudius, with the ſame facility, and almoſt for the ſame reaſon. For, in the interval between the invaſion of Julius and that of Claudius, the Cattivellauni had reduced them under their obedience; and, in order to emancipate themſelves from this ſubjection to their neighbours, they put themſelves under the protection of the Romans. But the Trinobantes ſoon became weary of their obedience to their new maſters. For the Roman colony at Camulodunum, which was within their territories, depriving ſome of them of their eſtates, and oppreſſing them ſeveral other ways, they joined in the great revolt of the Britons under Boadicia,

41 Camd. Brit. p. 363. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 230.
42 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 16.

and

and ſhared very deeply in the miſeries of that revolt [43]. From that time, the Trinobantes remained in peaceable ſubjection to the Romans, as long as they continued in Britain. The country of the Trinobantes was greatly valued and much frequented by the Romans, on account of the excellence of its ſoil and climate, and the many advantages of its ſituation. That ſagacious people ſoon fixed their eyes on the new town of the Trinobantes; and obſerving its admirable ſituation for health, for pleaſure, and for trade, great numbers of them ſettled in it, and giving it the name of Londinium from its ſituation, and of Auguſta from its grandeur, it became in a little time the largeſt and moſt opulent city in this iſland. In the reign of Nero, as Tacitus informs us, London was become a city highly famous for the great conflux of merchants, her extenſive commerce, and plenty of all things [44]. No fewer than ſeven of the fourteen journies of Antoninus begin or end at London; a plain proof, amongſt many others, that this city was the capital of Britain in the Roman times, as it is at preſent the great and flouriſhing metropolis of the Britiſh empire [45]. Camulodunum, now Malden, in Eſſex, was the ſeat of the firſt Roman colony in Britain, and a place of great beauty and magnificence in theſe times; though at preſent few or no veſtiges of

[43] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 153.
[44] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33. [45] See Appendix.

its

its ancient grandeur remain[46]. Cæſaromagus, from its pompous name, was probably a place of ſome note in the Roman times; but it is now ſo entirely ruined, that it is difficult to diſcover the ground where it once ſtood; ſome of our antiquaries placing it at Chelmsford, and others at Dunmow[47]. The Colonia of Antoninus was probably Colcheſter, and Durolitum, as ſome think, Leiton, but according to others Waltham[48]. But though the county of Eſſex was certainly very much frequented by the Romans, who erected many noble works in it, yet time, cultivation, and various accidents, have made ſo great change in the face of that country, that very few veſtiges of theſe works are now remaining[49]. The territories of the Trinobantes were included in that Roman province which was called Britannia Prima.

Cattivellauni.

10. To the north of the Trinobantes were ſeated the Cattivellauni, in the country which is now divided into the counties of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks[50]. The name of this ancient Britiſh people is written in ſeveral different ways by Greek and Roman authors, being ſometimes called Catti, Caſſii, Catticuclani, Cattidudani, Catticludane, &c. That they were of

46 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 26. Camd. Brit. p. 415.

47 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 427. Camd. Brit. p. 410.

48 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 447. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. 116.

49 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 331.

50 Camd. Brit. p. 326. 335. 343.

Belgic origin cannot be doubted, and it is not improbable, that they derived their name of Catti from the Belgic word Katten, which ſignifies illuſtrious or noble, and that the addition of Vellauni, which means on the banks of rivers, might be given them after their arrival in Britain, as deſcriptive of the ſituation of their country [51]. However this may be, the Cattivellauni formed one of the moſt brave and warlike of the ancient Britiſh nations when Cæſar invaded Britain, and long after. Caſſibelanus, their prince, was made commander in chief of the confederated Britons, not only on account of his own perſonal qualities, but alſo becauſe he was at the head of one of their braveſt and moſt powerful tribes [52]. In the interval between the departure of Cæſar and the next invaſion under Claudius, the Cattivellauni had reduced ſeveral of the neighbouring ſtates under their obedience; and they again took the lead in the oppoſition to the Romans at their ſecond invaſion, under their brave but unfortunate prince Caractacus [53]. The country of the Cattivellauni was much frequented and improved by the Romans, after it came under their obedience. Verulamium, their capital, which ſtood near where St. Albans now ſtands, became a place of great conſideration, was honoured with the name and privileges of a municipium or free city, and had magiſtrates after the model of the city

[51] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. [52] Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 9.
[53] Dio. l. 60. p. 678. Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33.

of Rome[54]. This place was taken and almoſt deſtroyed by the inſurgents under Boadicia; but it was afterwards rebuilt, reſtored to its former ſplendor, and ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, ſome veſtiges of which are ſtill remaining[55]. Durocobrivæ and Magiovintum, in the ſecond Iter of Antoninus, were probably Dunſtable and Fenny Stratford, at which places there appear to have been Roman ſtations[56]. The Salenæ of Ptolemy, a town in the country of the Cattivellauni, was perhaps ſituated at Salndy, in Bedfordſhire, where ſeveral Roman antiquities have been found[57]. There were, beſides theſe, ſeveral other Roman forts, ſtations, and towns in this country, which it would be tedious to enumerate. The territories of the Cattivellauni made a part of the Roman province called Britannia Prima.

11. Next to the Cattivellauni, weſtward, were ſeated the Dobuni, or as they are named by Dio, the Boduni, in the counties of Oxford and Gloceſter[58]. Both the names of this Britiſh nation ſeem to have been derived from the low ſituation of a great part of the country which they inhabited: for both Duvn and Bodun ſignify profound or low, in the ancient language of Dobuni.

[54] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33. Camd. Brit. p. 352.
[55] Stukeley It. cur. p. 110.
[56] Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 422.
[57] Id. p. 375. Camd. Brit. p. 339.
[58] Camd. Brit. p. 267. 291.

Gaul and Britain[59]. The Dobuni are not mentioned among the Britiſh nations who reſiſted the Romans under Julius Cæſar, which was probably owing to the diſtance of their country from the ſcene of action; and before the next invaſion under Claudius, they had been ſo much oppreſſed by their ambitious neighbours the Cattivellauni, that they ſubmitted with pleaſure to the Romans, in order to be delivered from that oppreſſion. Cogidunus, who was at that time (as his name imports) prince of the Dobuni, recommended himſelf ſo effectually to the favour of the emperor Claudius, by his ready ſubmiſſion, and other means, that he was not only continued in the government of his own territories, but had ſome other ſtates put under his authority[60]. This prince lived ſo long, and remained ſo ſteady a friend and ally to the Romans, that his ſubjects, being habituated to their obedience in his time, never revolted, nor ſtood in need of many forts or forces to keep them in ſubjection. This is certainly the reaſon that we meet with ſo few Roman towns and ſtations in the country anciently inhabited by the Dobuni. The Durocornovium of Antoninus, and the Corinium of Ptolemy, are believed by antiquaries to have been the ſame place, the capital of the Dobuni, and ſituated at Cirenceſter, in Gloceſterſhire, where there are many marks of a Roman ſta-

59 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 42. 166.

60 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 14.

tion[61]. Clevum or Glevum, in the thirteenth Iter of Antoninus, ſtood where the city of Gloceſter now ſtands: and Abone, in the fourteenth Iter, was probably ſituated at Avinton on the Severn[62]. The country of the Dobuni was comprehended in the Roman province Britannia Prima.

Iceni. 12. That we may ſurvey all the ancient inhabitants of Wales at the ſame time, we ſhall proceed no further weſtward at preſent, but return again to the eaſt coaſt of Britain. Here we meet with the Iceni, an ancient Britiſh people who were ſeated to the north of the Trinobantes, and inhabited that country which is now divided into the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon[63]. This nation is called by ſeveral different names by the Greek and Roman writers, as Simeni by Ptolemy, Cenimagni by Cæſar, &c. They do not ſeem to have made any oppoſition to the Romans at their firſt invaſion under Cæſar, but made their ſubmiſſion at the ſame time with ſeveral of the neighbouring ſtates[64]. At the next invaſion in the reign of Claudius, the Iceni entered into a voluntary alliance with the Romans, but ſoon after joining with ſome other Britiſh tribes in a revolt, they were defeated in a great battle by Oſtorius Scapula, the ſecond Roman governor of Britain,

61 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 368. 468. Stukeely Iter. cur. p. 62.
62 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 468. Camd. Brit. p. 270.
63 Camd. Brit. p. 434. 455. 479. 502.
64 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

A. D. 50, and reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection [64]. For ſome time after this they were treated with much favour and indulgence by the Romans, and even allowed to live under the immediate government of Praſutagus, their own native ſovereign. But after the death of that prince, the Iceni were ſo much enraged at ſome grievous inſults which were offered to his widow and daughters, by the luſt and avarice of certain powerful Romans, that they broke out into a ſecond revolt, much more violent than the firſt. In this revolt they were commanded by the celebrated Boadicia, the brave and injured widow of their late king; and being joined by ſeveral other Britiſh ſtates, they did many cruel injuries to the Romans and their allies. But being at length intirely defeated in battle, with prodigious ſlaughter, by Suetonius Paulinus, A. D. 61, they were reduced to a ſtate of total and final ſubjection to the Roman government; and the Romans took great pains to keep them in this ſtate of ſubjection, by building many ſtrong forts, ſtations, and towns in their country [65]. The capital of the Iceni, which is called by the Roman writers Venta Icenorum, was ſituated at Caiſter, on the banks of the River Wintfar, about three miles from Norwich; where ſome veſtiges of its walls are ſtill diſcernible [66]. Several of

[64] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31, 32.
[65] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 40, 41, 42.
[66] Camd. Brit. p. 460, Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 443, 444.

the

the Roman ſtations in the country of the Iceni, are mentioned in the fifth Iter of Antoninus; as Villa Fauſtini, Iciani, Camboricum, Durolipons, and Durobrivæ; St. Edmundſbury, Ickborough, Cheſterford, Waltham, and Caiſter on the Nen[67]. Some other places in the ſame country are mentioned in the ninth Iter, as Venta Icenorum, Sitomagus, and Combretonium; Caiſter, Wulpit, and Stretford[68]. Two places on the ſea-coaſt belonging to the Iceni are mentioned in the Notitia Imperii, Branodunum and Garononum, Brancaſter and Yarmouth, in which ſtrong garriſons were kept by the Romans to protect the country from the depredations of the Saxon pirates[69]. The territories of the Iceni made a part of the Roman province Britannia Prima.

13. To the weſt and north of the Iceni were ſeated the Coritani or Coriceni, in the country which is now divided into the counties of Northampton, Leiceſter, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby[70]. The name of the Cor-Iceni plainly indicates that there was an affinity or connexion of ſome kind or other between them and their neighbours the Iceni. Some think they were two tribes of the ſame nation, and that Cor-Iceni means the leſſer Iceni, from Carr, a dwarf, and Iceni[71]. Others imagine that both Coritani.

[67] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 250. 138. 63. 115. 111.
[68] Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 444.
[69] Id. p. 488.
[70] Camd. Brit. p. 511. 530. 543. 550. 575. 586.
[71] Boxhorn. Lexicon Brit. Lat. p. 17.

theſe Britiſh tribes derived their names from the different kinds of animals in which their chief riches conſiſted, and the tending of which was their chief employment; the Iceni from Ychen, oxen, and the Cor-Iceni from Cor, a ſheep[72]. However this may be, it is very evident, that if theſe two tribes did not form one nation, they were at leaſt in very ſtrict alliance, and ſhared the ſame fate, having both been reduced to ſome degree of ſubjection to the Romans by Oſtorius Scapula, and totally ſubdued by Suetonius Paulinus[73]. The Romans made great changes in the country of the Cor-Iceni, by introducing agriculture, and by building many forts and ſtations in it, to keep them in ſubjection. Lindum, now Lincoln, the ancient capital of the Cor-Iceni, became the ſeat of a Roman colony, and one of the moſt conſiderable cities which that people had in Britain; and is mentioned both by Ptolemy, and by Antoninus in ſeveral of his journies[74]. By following only the courſe of the ſixth journey of Antoninus, from London to Lincoln, we meet with a conſiderable number of Roman towns and ſtations within the territories of the Cor-Iceni; as Venonæ, now Cleyceſter; Ratæ, now Leiceſter; Virometum, now Willoughby; Margidunum, now Eaſt-Bridgeford; Ad-Pontem, now Southwell; and Crocolana, now Brugh, near Collingham[75]. The extenſive country of the

[72] Carte, v. 1 p. 108.
[73] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 29, 30.
[74] See Appendix.
[75] Horſ. Brit. p. 436, 437.

Cor-

Cor-Iceni was alſo included in the Roman province called Britannia Prima.

14. To the weſt of the Cor-Iceni were ſeated the Cornavii, in that country which is now divided into Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire [76]. There were ſeveral Britiſh tribes of this name, in other parts of this iſland; and they ſeem all to have been called Cornavii, from the two Britiſh words Corn a horn, and Av, a river, deſcriptive of the form and ſituation of their reſpective countries [77]. Beſides the Cornavii, there was another Britiſh tribe or nation ſeated in the countries above mentioned, and ſeem to have poſſeſſed the beſt part of the two counties of Warwick and Worceſter. This nation is called by Tacitus, the Jugantes, by a miſtake (as it is thought) of his tranſcribers, for Wigantes, or Huicii, their real name [78]. The Wigantes (which in the ancient language of Britain ſignifies brave men) ſeem to have been an independent nation under their own prince Venutius, who married the famous Carteſmandua, queen of the Brigantes [79]. But both the Wigantes and Cornavii were in ſuch ſtrict alliance with the Iceni and Cor-Iceni, that they were reduced at the ſame time, and by the ſame generals, under the dominion of the Romans [80]. Cornavii.

[76] Camd. Brit. p. 598. 618. 634. 646. 662.
[77] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 88, 89, 90, 91.
[78] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 38.
[79] Id. ibid. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. 135.
[80] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 29, 30.

That

That brave and induſtrious people built many forts, ſtations, and towns in the country of the Cornavii and Wigantes, to keep its inhabitants in ſubjection. As the ſecond journey of Antoninus, from beyond the wall of Severus to Richborough, in Kent, paſſes through this country from north to ſouth, it will conduct us to ſeveral of theſe Roman towns and ſtations[81]. The moſt northerly of theſe towns was Condate, ſuppoſed to be Northwich, in Cheſhire[82]. We come next to Diva, now Cheſter, which was a city of great conſideration in the Roman times, a colony, and the ſtated quarters of the twentieth legion[83]. Purſuing the ſame rout ſouthward, we meet with the following towns in their order; Bovium, near Stretton; Mediolanum, near Draiton; Rutunium, near Wem; Uriconium, now Wroxeter, the ancient capital of the Cornavii; Uxacona, near Sheriff-Hales; Pennocrucium, near the river Penk; Etocetum, Wall near Litchfield; and Manduеſſedum, now Mancheſter in Warwickſhire[84]. The preciſe boundaries of the ſeveral Roman provinces in Britain are ſo little known, that we cannot be certain whether the whole country of the Cornavii, and Wigantes, was within the limits of that which was called Britannia Prima, or ſome part of it belonged to Britannia Secunda[85].

[81] See Appendix. [82] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 415.
[83] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 416.
[84] Id. p. 408. See Appendix. [85] See Appendix.

It

It is now proper, before we proceed any further northward, to take a ſhort view of that part of South Britain which is now called Wales, and of the ſeveral nations by which it was anciently inhabited. Theſe nations were the Silures, the Demetæ, and the Ordovices: of each of which we ſhall ſpeak in their order.

Silures.

15. The Silures, beſides the two Engliſh counties of Hereford and Monmouth, poſſeſſed Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, and Glamorganſhire, in South Wales[86]. The name of this ancient Britiſh nation is derived, by ſome of our antiquaries, from Coil, a wood, and Ures, men, becauſe they inhabited a woody country: and by others, from theſe Britiſh words Es heuil üir, which ſignify brave or fierce men[87]. There ſeems to be but little probability, not to ſay evidence, in the conjecture of Tacitus, that the Silures had come originally from Spain; as it is founded on a ſuppoſed, and perhaps imaginary reſemblance between them and the ancient Spaniards, in their perſons and complexions[88]. It is much more probable, that they, as well as the other ancient inhabitants of Britain, had come from ſome part or other of the neighbouring continent of Gaul. But from whenceſoever they derived their origin, they reflected no diſhonour upon it, as their poſterity have not degenerated from them. The

[86] Camd. Brit. p. 683.

[87] Carte Hiſt. v. 1. p. 108. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 217.

[88] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

Silures

Silures were unqueſtionably one of the braveſt of the ancient Britiſh nations, and defended their country and their liberty againſt the Romans with the moſt heroic fortitude. For though they had received a dreadful defeat from Oſtorius Scapula, and had loſt their renowned commander Caractacus, they ſtill continued undaunted and implacable; and by their bold and frequent attacks, they at length broke the heart of the brave Oſtorius [89]. But all their efforts were at laſt in vain. They were repulſed by Aulus Didius, further weakened by Petilius Cerealis, and at laſt totally ſubdued by Julius Frontinus, in the reign of Veſpaſian [90]. As the Romans had found great difficulty in ſubduing the Silures, ſo they took great pains to keep them in ſubjection, by building ſtrong forts, and planting ſtrong garriſons in their country. One of the moſt conſiderable of theſe fortifications, and the capital of the whole country, was Iſca Silurum, now Caerleon, on the river Wiſk, in Monmouthſhire [91]. Here the ſecond legion of the Romans, which had contributed greatly to the reduction of the Silures, was placed in garriſon (as ſome antiquaries have imagined) by Julius Frontinus, to keep that people in obedience [92]. It is however certain, that this legion was very early, and very long ſtationed at this place [93]. Iſca Silurum was, in

[89] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 30 to 37.
[90] Id. c. 31. Id. vita Agric. c. 18.
[91] Camd. Brit. p. 717. [92] Philoſoph. Tranſ. No. 359.
[93] See Appendix. Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 78.

the

the Roman times, a city not only of great ſtrength, but alſo of great beauty and magnificence. This is evident from the deſcription which is given us of its ruins by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his topography of Wales, ſeveral ages after it had been deſtroyed and abandoned. "This (Caer Leion, or the city of the legion) "was a very ancient city, enjoying honourable "privileges, and was elegantly built by the Ro- "mans with brick-walls. Many veſtiges of its "ancient ſplendor are yet remaining: ſtately "palaces, which formerly, with their gilded "tiles, diſplayed the Roman grandeur. For it "was firſt built by the Roman nobility, and "adorned with ſumptuous edifices; alſo an ex- "ceeding high tower, remarkable hot-baths, "ruins of ancient temples, theatres encompaſſed "with ſtately walls, partly yet ſtanding. Sub- "terraneous edifices are frequently met with "not only within the walls (which are about "three miles in circumference) but alſo in the "ſuburbs; as aqueducts, vaults, hypocauſts, "ſtoves, &c.[94]" This deſcription of Caer-Leion was compoſed in the twelfth century, and therefore we have no reaſon to be ſurprized that its very ruins are now ſo entirely deſtroyed, that they are hardly diſcernible. On the banks of the river Wiſk, beſides Iſca Silurum, there ſtood two other Roman towns; Burrium, now Uſk, and Gobannium, now Abergavenny[95].

[94] Girald. Cambr n. Itinerar. Camb. p. 836.

[95] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 465. Camd. Brit. 715. 717.

Venta

Venta Silurum, now Caer-Guent, near Chepſtow, in Monmouthſhire, was alſo a conſiderable Roman town, of which there are ſome faint veſtiges ſtill remaining [94]. Bleſtum, in the thirteenth journey of Antoninus, is ſuppoſed to have been ſituated at Monmouth; and Magna, in the twelfth journey, at Kencheſter, or as others think, at Lidbury, in Herefordſhire [95]. When the Roman territories in Britain were divided into five provinces, the greateſt part of the country of the Silures was in that province which was called Britannia Secunda [96].

Demetæ. 16. The Demetæ, according to Ptolemy, were ſeated next to the Silures, and poſſeſſed the remaining part of South Wales, which is now divided into Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire [97]. This country is called, by ſome of the moſt ancient of our monkiſh writers, Demetia, from the name of its inhabitants; and it is not improbable, that both they and their country derived their name from Deveit, which ſignifies ſheep; in which theſe parts very much abounded [98]. As neither Pliny, Tacitus, nor indeed any ancient writer except Ptolemy, mentions any other nation in South Wales but the Silures, it ſeems probable that the Demetæ were generally conſidered as a part of that nation, and were

[94] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 469.
[95] Id. p. 465. 467. Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 165.
[96] See Appendix.
[97] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 368. Camd. Brit. p. 743. 754. 770.
[98] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 102.

perhaps

perhaps their Cangi, or the keepers of their flocks and herds. If this conjecture is juſt, the Demetæ were perhaps that nation of Cangians who were ſubdued by Oſtorius Scapula, after he had defeated the Iceni. For the country of theſe Cangians reached to the Iriſh ſea, which agrees very well with the ſituation of Demetia [99]. As the Demetæ did not reſiſt the Romans with much obſtinacy, and as their country lay in a remote corner, and was then, and long after, very wild and uncultivated, it ſeems to have been but little frequented by theſe conquerors, who had very few towns or ſtations within its bounds. As none of the journeys of Antoninus lay through any part of the country of the Demetæ, ſo no place in that country is mentioned in the Itinerary. Ptolemy takes notice of the promontory Octapitarum, now St. David's Head; of the mouth of the river Tobius, now the river Towy, in Caermarthenſhire; and of the towns Leuentium and Maridunum, now Lhan-Dewe-Brevi and Caermardin [100]. The country of the Demetæ was ſituated in the Roman province called Britannia Secunda.

17. Next to the Demetæ were ſeated the Ordovices, in that country which is now called North Wales, and contains the counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint [101]. Theſe Ordovices, or (as they are called Ordovices.

99 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33.

100 See Appendix.

101 Camd. Brit. p. 778. 783. 794. 814. 822.

by

by Tacitus) Ordeuices, are ſuppoſed to have been originally of the ſame tribe or nation with the Huicii of Warwickſhire, who were under ſome kind of ſubjection to the Cornavii; but the Huicii of North Wales, being a free and independent people, were called Ordh-Huici, or the free Huici [102]. When they were invaded by the Romans, they ſhewed a ſpirit worthy of their name, and fought with great bravery in defence of their freedom and independency. Though they received a great defeat from the Roman general Oſtorius, in conjunction with the Silures, they maintained the war for a conſiderable time, until they were finally ſubdued, with great ſlaughter, by the renowned Agricola [103]. It was probably owing to the nature of the country, and to the vicinity of Diva, now Cheſter, where a whole legion was quartered, that the Romans had ſo few towns or ſtations in the territories of the Ordovices. Mediolanium, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, was the capital of the nation, and was probably ſituated at Maywood, in Montgomeryſhire [104]. It was a place of ſome conſideration in the Roman times, but was afterwards quite demoliſhed by Edwin, king of Northumberland [105]. Beſides this, the Romans had a few other towns in this country; as Segontium, now Caernarvon, Conovium, now Conway,

102 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 189.
103 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31. Vita Agric. c. 13.
104 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 372. 105 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 173.

and

and Varæ, now Bodvary; which are all mentioned in the eleventh journey of Antoninus [106]. The country of the Ordovices was comprehended in the Roman province which was called Britannia Secunda.

Before we leave this part of Britain, to return to the eaſtern coaſts, it may not be improper to take ſome notice of two ancient Britiſh nations, the Cangi and Attacotti, which ſome of our antiquaries believe to have been ſeated in theſe parts, though we cannot perhaps diſcover with certainty their real ſituation.

Cangi.

18. Our antiquaries have been much perplexed about the ſituation of the Cangi, Ceangi, or Cangani, which are all the ſame people. Camden diſcovered ſome traces of them in many different and diſtant places, as in Somerſetſhire, Wales, Derbyſhire, and Cheſhire; and he might have found as plain veſtiges of them in Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, Eſſex, Wiltſhire, &c. [107] Mr. Horſley and others are no leſs perplexed and undetermined in their opinions on this ſubject [108]. But Mr. Baxter ſeems to have diſcovered the true cauſe of all this perplexity, by obſerving that the Cangi or Ceangi were not a diſtinct nation ſeated in one particular place, but ſuch of the youth of many different nations as were employed in paſturage, in feeding the flocks and herds of their

106 See Appendix.

107 Camd. Brit. p. 83. 216. 436. Spelm. Villare Anglican. v. Can.

108 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 31, 34, 35

reſpective tribes. Almoſt all the ancient nations of Britain had their Ceangi, their paſtoritia pubes, the keepers of their flocks and herds, who ranged about the country in great numbers, as they were invited by the ſeaſon, and plenty of paſture for their cattle. This is the reaſon that veſtiges of their name are to be found in ſo many different parts of Britain; but chiefly in thoſe parts which are moſt fit for paſturage[109]. Theſe Ceangi of the different Britiſh nations, naturally brave, and rendered ſtill more hardy by their way of life, were conſtantly armed for the protection of their flocks from wild beaſts; and theſe arms they occaſionally employed in the defence of their country and their liberty.

Attacotti. 19. The Attacotti are mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus and St. Jerome, as well as in the Notitia Imperii[110]. They are ſuppoſed by ſome antiquaries to have inhabited Wales, and as a proof of this, they ſay that their name was derived from the Britiſh words At a coit, which ſignify Amongſt woods[111]. This derivation of their name is certainly but a very weak argument that they inhabited Wales; becauſe ſeveral other regions in Britain, in theſe times, abounded as much in woods as that country. It ſeems probable that the Attacotti were ſeated ſomewhere further north than any part of Wales. For they

[109] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 73, 74, 75, 76.

[110] Ammian. Marcell. l. 27. c. 8. Hieronym. l. 2. contra Jovianum.

[111] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 26, 27.

are

are repreſented by Ammianus Marcellinus as allies and confederates of the Scots and Picts, and therefore probably their neighbours. "The "Saxons and Franks (ſays the hiſtorian) ravaged "thoſe parts of Britain which lay neareſt to "Gaul. The Picts, Attacots, and Scots over-"ran, plundered, and laid waſte ſeveral other "parts." But theſe Attacots were ſuch horrid ſavages, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in another place, that it is needleſs to ſpend any more time in enquiring where they were ſeated [112].

Pariſi.

20. It is now time to return to the eaſtern coaſts of Britain, where we meet with the Pariſi, who were ſeated to the north of the Coritani, and poſſeſſed that diſtrict, which is called Holderneſs, or (as Mr. Camden imagines) the whole eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire [113]. The Pariſi are ſuppoſed to have derived their name from the two Britiſh words Paur Iſa, which ſignify low paſture, and which are deſcriptive of the ſituation and uſe of their country [114]. It is uncertain whether the Pariſi in Britain were a colony of the Pariſi in Gaul, or had only obtained a ſimilar name, from a ſimilarity of ſituation. However this may be, it is evident that our Pariſi never attained to any great degree of power or conſequence; but were always ſubject to the authority, and followed the fate of their more powerful neighbours, the Brigantes. For this reaſon, it is not neceſſary to be

[112] See chap. vii. Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſertations in the Preface.
[113] Camd. Brit. p. 885.
[114] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 191.

more particular in our deſcription of them or their country.

Brigantes. 21. To the north of the Pariſi and Cornavii were ſeated the Brigantes, the moſt numerous, powerful, and ancient of the Britiſh nations. Their territories reached from ſea to ſea quite croſs the iſland, and comprehended that large tract of country which is now divided into Yorkſhire and the county of Durham on the eaſt coaſt, and Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland on the weſt [117]. The Brigantes are thought to have been deſcended from the ancient Phrygians, who were the very firſt inhabitants of Europe, and to have come over into this iſland from the coaſt of Gaul, before the Belgæ arrived in that country. To confirm this conjecture, it is pretended that theſe tribes of Phrygians, who peopled the ſea-coaſts of ſo many countries, were known by many different names, which had all ſome affinity, and, amongſt others, by this name of Brigantes, of which there are ſome traces ſtill remaining in almoſt every country in Europe [118]. However this may be, it is certain that they were ſeated in this iſland in very ancient times, and eſteemed themſelves the aborigines, or firſt inhabitants of it. The Brigantes were not in the leaſt affected by the incurſion of the Romans under Julius Cæſar. Seneca, in the verſes

[117] Camd. Brit. p. 842. 931. 962. 983. 1002.

[118] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. voce Brigantes. Carte Hiſt. Eng. v. 1. p. 10. 18.

quoted

quoted below [119], insinuates that they were subdued by the emperor Claudius. But in this, it is probable, there was more of poetical compliment than truth. It appears, however, that this state very soon contracted some alliance with, or made some kind of submission to the Romans. For when Ostorius, the Roman governor, had defeated the Iceni, and was marching his army into the west against the Cangi, he was called away by the news of an insurrection among the Brigantes, which he soon quieted [120]. But it also appears, that this people were some time after this governed by their own princes, particularly by the famous Cartismandua, who was a faithful and useful ally to the Romans [121]. The Brigantes having broken off their engagements with the Romans, of whatever kind they were, and commenced hostilities against them in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, A. D. 70, they were in part subdued by Petilius Cerialis, then governor of Britain, and soon after totally reduced by the renowned Agricola [122]. The country of the Brigantes composed almost the whole of the fourth Roman province in Britain, called Maxima Cæsariensis, and was governed by the consular president of that province. As this, for the greatest

[119] . . . . . Illè Britannos
Ultro noti littora ponti, et cœruleos
Scuta Brigantes, dare Romulæis colla catenis
Jussit. Seneca in Ludo.

[120] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32. [121] Id. l. 12. c. 36.
[122] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 17. 20.

part of the Roman times, was a frontier province, it was much frequented, and carefully guarded by that illuſtrious people; ſo that to give the ſhorteſt poſſible account of the prodigious number of their caſtles, towns, cities, and of the other works executed by them in it, for uſe, ornament, and defence, would draw out this paragraph to a tedious and diſproportionate length. It is neceſſary, therefore, to refer the reader for ſatisfaction in theſe particulars to the Appendix.

Otodini. 21. To the north-eaſt of the Brigantes were ſeated the Otodini, in the countries now called Northumberland, Merſe, and the Lothians [123]. As the Otodini are not mentioned by any of the Roman hiſtorians, but only by Ptolemy, it is uncertain whether they formed a diſtinct, independent ſtate, or were united with the Brigantes. They were, however, a conſiderable people, and poſſeſſed a long tract of the ſea-coaſt, from the river Tine to the Firth of Forth [124]. Their name is derived by Baxter from the old Britiſh words Ot o dineu, which ſignify a high and rocky ſhore; deſcriptive enough of their country [125]. They were probably reduced by Agricola, at the ſame time with their more powerful neighbours the Brigantes; but as they lived without the wall of Severus, they were, like the reſt of the Maeatæ, engaged in frequent revolts. In the moſt perfect ſtate of the Roman government in

[123] Camd. Brit. p. 1066. [124] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 373.
[125] Baxt. Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit. voce Otodini.

this

this iſland, the country of the Otodini made a part of the Roman province called Valentia; which comprehended all that large tract between the two walls. As this province was never long together in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Romans, they had but few ſtations in the country of the Otodini, except thoſe on the line of the wall of Severus, which are deſcribed in the Appendix. Beſides theſe, there were two or three Roman towns without the wall, ſituated on or near the military way which run through their country into Caledonia; which are mentioned both in Ptolemy and the Itinerary of Antoninus. Theſe towns were Bremenium, now Riecheſter, and Curia or Corſtupitum, now Corbridge [126]. Between theſe two towns, and at a little diſtance from the military way, at a place now called Riſingham, there are very conſpicuous veſtiges of a Roman ſtation; which, from the inſcription of an altar found there, appears to have been named Habitancum [127].

Gadeni.

22. The Gadeni were ſeated to the north-weſt of the Otodini, and poſſeſſed the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tiviotdale. Some imagine that the veſtige of their name is ſtill preſerved in the names of the river Jed and of the town of Jedburgh, which are both in the country anciently inhabited by the Gadeni [128]. The name of this ſmall nation is ſuppoſed by Mr.

126 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 396, 397.
127 Id. ibid.
128 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 126.

Baxter to have been derived from the Britiſh word Gedau, which ſignifies to fly or wander: but another antiquary, who was no leſs ſkilled in the Britiſh language, derives it from Gadichin, which ſignifies thieves or robbers [129]. As the country which this people inhabited was very wild and mountainous, it is probable, that they led a wandering kind of life, and made frequent predatory incurſions into the territories of their more wealthy neighbours, who, in revenge, gave them the opprobrious names of thieves and vagabonds; names which would not have been ill applied to the people of theſe parts in much later periods. It appears, from an inſcription found at Riſingham in Northumberland, that the national deity of the Gadeni was called Mogon, who might perhaps be the God of thieves among the Britons, as Mercury was among the Greeks and Romans [130]. The Gadeni probably made ſome kind of ſubmiſſion to the Romans under Agricola, at the ſame time with their neighbours on all hands; but as their country was never much frequented by that victorious people, who ſeem to have had no towns or ſtations in it, their obedience to the Roman government was only occaſional. The country of the Gadeni was included in the province called Valentia, after that province was erected.

[129] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 126. Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſert. p. 113.
[130] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 234.

23. The

23. The Selgovæ were ſeated to the weſt of the Gadeni, in the countries now called Eſkdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale, lying along the ſhores of the Solway Firth, which is believed to have derived its name from that of this ancient Britiſh nation[131]. Mr. Baxter ſuppoſes that the name of this people was compounded of the two Britiſh words Sel Giü, which ſignify ſalt waves, alluding to the Solway Firth, with which the coaſts of their country were waſhed: but the modern antiquary quoted above, thinks it more probable, that the name was derived from the Britiſh word Sealg, which literally ſignifies hunting, and metaphorically theft[132]. The Selgovæ became firſt acquainted with the Romans, when Agricola marched his army through their country into Caledonia, in the ſecond or third year of his government in Britain; at which time they made their ſubmiſſions to that victorious general[133]. From that period they were alternately under the dominion of the Romans, or enjoyed freedom as that people extended or contracted the limits of their empire in this iſland. The Romans had ſeveral ſtations and camps in the country of the Selgovæ, of which ſome veſtiges are ſtill remaining[134]. Selgovæ.

24. To the north-weſt of the Selgovæ were ſeated the Novantæ, in the countries which are Novantæ.

[131] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 215.
[132] Id. ibid. Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſert. p. 113.
[133] Gordon's Itin. Septent. p. 15, &c.
[134] Id. ibid.—See Appendix.

now

now called Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham [135]. The name of this ancient Britiſh nation is ſuppoſed by Mr. Baxter to be compounded of the two Britiſh words Now Hent, which, he ſays, ſignify New Inhabitants [136]. This was one of thoſe new and unknown nations, ſituated on the coaſt of Britain oppoſite to Ireland, and within ſight of that iſland, which Agricola diſcovered and defeated in ſeveral battles in the fifth year of his government; and in whoſe country he built ſome forts, and left ſome forces, with a view to favour an expedition which he meditated againſt Ireland [137]. But as this expedition never took place, theſe forces were ſoon withdrawn, and the forts abandoned, and this country, on account of its remote ſituation, was not much frequented by the Romans.

Damnii. 25. To the north of the Gadeni and Otodini were ſeated the Damnii, in the countries now called Clydeſdale, Renfrew, Lenox, and Stirlingſhire. The name of this nation, which is ſometimes written Dumnii, might perhaps be derived from the Britiſh word Dun, which ſignifies a hill or mountain, a great part of their country being hilly and mountainous [138]. This was one of thoſe Britiſh nations, formerly unknown to the Romans, which were diſcovered by Agricola in the third year of his government, when he penetrated to the river Tay [139]. It was

135 Camd. Brit. p. 1199.
136 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. 184.
137 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 24.
138 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. 97.
139 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 22.

in

in the country of the Damnii, that Agricola built thoſe forts into which he put his army in winter for the preſervation of his conqueſts; as it was in the ſame country, and probably in the ſame tract, that the famous wall was built between the firths of Forth and Clyde, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, to protect the Roman territories from the incurſions of the Caledonians[140]. On account of this wall, and the many forts and caſtles upon it, this country was more frequented by the Romans, than any other to the north of Severus's wall; and more remains of that illuſtrious people have been diſcovered in it, than in any other part of Scotland.

Maeatæ.

Theſe five laſt mentioned Britiſh nations, who poſſeſſed the country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, are ſometimes called, in the Greek and Roman writers, by the general name of the Maeatæ[141]. This name, which was probably not unknown to the Britons themſelves, is believed by ſome to have been derived from two Britiſh words, Moi, a plain, and Aitich, inhabitants; by others[142], from theſe two, Mæan, middle, and Aitich; as being ſituated in the middle between the provincial and unconquered Britons.

The Romans had but an imperfect knowledge

We have ſufficient evidence, that the Roman armies, under Julius Agricola and the emperor Severus, penetrated a conſiderable way into that

[140] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 22.—See Appendix.

[141] Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.

[142] Oſſian's Works, v. 2. p. 219. Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſert. p. 23.

part

of the country beyond Antoninus's wall.

part of Britain which lies to the north of the wall of Antoninus Pius, between the firths of Forth and Clyde. Tacitus gives a very diſtinct account of the firſt of theſe famous expeditions in Caledonia, and Dio Nicæus of the ſecond [143]. Many Roman coins have been found in ſeveral parts of that country, and there are ſtill remaining in it very diſtinct veſtiges of ſeveral Roman camps [144]. But it is no leſs evident, that the Romans never formed any ſolid or laſting eſtabliſhment beyond the wall of Antoninus, which was always conſidered as the utmoſt limit of the Roman empire in Britain [145]. We have no reaſon, therefore, to be ſurprized, that they had but a very imperfect knowledge of the moſt northerly parts of this iſland, and of their inhabitants. That knowledge was indeed ſo imperfect, that they imagined the country beyond the wall of Antoninus extended about three times as far from weſt to eaſt as it did from ſouth to north, which is directly contrary to the truth [146]. The reader muſt therefore reſt contented with the following very brief and imperfect account of the Britiſh nations which dwelt beyond the Roman wall between Forth and Clyde.

Epidii.

26. The Epidii, or Pepidii, were the ancient inhabitants of the peninſula of Cantyr, and perhaps of ſome of the adjacent iſlands, and of part

[143] Tacit. vito Agric. c. 21. to 39. Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.
[144] Gordon's Itin. Septent. p. 36, &c. Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 66.
[145] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 65. [146] Id. p. 64.

of

of Argyleſhire and Lorn [147]. Mr. Baxter imagines the Pepidii derived their name from the Britiſh word Pepidiauc, which ſignifies any thing ſhaped like a flute or pipe, as was the peninſula of Cantyr, the country of the Pepidii [148].

27. The Cerones, who were probably the ſame people with the Creones mentioned alſo by Ptolemy, were the moſt ancient inhabitants of Lochabar, and of part of Roſſe [149]. Cerones.

28. The Carnonacæ poſſeſſed that part of Roſſe which is called Aſſenſhire [150]. Carnonacæ.

29. The Carini ſeem to have dwelt about Lochbey, on the north-weſt coaſt of Roſſeſhire. By Camden they are placed in Caithneſs [151]. Carini.

30. The Cornavii were the ancient inhabitants of the moſt northerly point of Britain, called Strathnavern, which ſeems to retain ſome veſtige of the name of its firſt poſſeſſors [152]. Cornavii.

31. The Mertæ, if they are rightly placed by Ptolemy, muſt have been an inland people, inhabiting the north-weſt parts of Sutherland [153]. Mertæ.

32. The Logi ſeem to have poſſeſſed the ſea-coaſt of Sutherland [154]. Logi.

33. The Cantæ, according to Ptolemy, muſt have been ſeated on the north ſide of Tayne Firth. Mr. Baxter placeth them in Buchan, which he derives from the Britiſh words Pow Chant, which he ſays ſignify the country of the Cantæ [155]. Cantæ.

147 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 369. Camd. Brit. p. 1462.
148 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 193.
149 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 368.
150 Id. p. 366.
151 Id. ibid.
152 Camd. Brit. p. 1279.
153 Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 372.
154 Id. p. 371.
155 Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 65.

Caldonii.

34. The Caledonii ſeem to have poſſeſſed a very extenſive tract of country, reaching from Lochfenn on the weſt, to the firth of Tayne on the eaſt coaſt, including Badenoch, Braidalbin, the inland parts of the ſhires of Murray, Bamf, Aberdeen, and Perth. The Greek and Roman hiſtorians and poets, who flouriſhed in the firſt, ſecond, and third centuries, when they have occaſion to mention the affairs of Britain, give the general name of Caledonii to all the Britiſh nations without the limits of the Roman province, and that of Caledonia to their country [156]. The reaſon of this might be, that the Caledonii were the moſt powerful and warlike of all theſe nations, and maintained ſome kind of ſuperiority over the reſt, who were contented to fight under their conduct againſt their common enemies, the Romans and provincial Britons. The name of the Caledonii, which, from being the proper name of one nation, became the common denomination of many, is evidently compounded of the two Britiſh words Caël and Dun, which ſignify the Gauls or Britons of the mountains [157]. A name very proper for the real Caledonii of Badenoch, Braidalbin, and the adjacent tracts, which are the moſt mountainous parts of Scotland, and not very unſuitable to the other nations, to whom it was given by the Roman authors.

No towns among the nine preceding nations.

It may not be improper to take notice, that, according to Ptolemy, who flouriſhed about the

[156] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 10. 25. 27. Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.

[157] Preface to Oſſian's Poems, v. 2. p. 4.

middle

middle of the ſecond century, there was not ſo much as one Britiſh town among all the nine nations above named, who were the ancient inhabitants of the Highlands, and moſt northerly parts of Scotland. This ſeems to be a proof, that theſe nations, or rather tribes, at that period, led a wandering unſettled life, ſtrangers to agriculture, ſubſiſting on their flocks and herds, on what they catched in hunting or got by plunder, and on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth; which is exactly agreeable to the deſcription which is given of them by Dio Nicæus, in the beginning of the third century [158]. The three following nations, as they poſſeſſed a better country, ſeem to have been more ſettled, and in a more advanced ſtate of civilization.

35. The Texali were the ancient inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts of Aberdeenſhire; and had a town called Devana, at the mouth of the river Deva (Dee) where old Aberdeen now ſtands [159]. Texali.

36. The Vacomagi, according to Ptolemy, ſeem to have poſſeſſed part of Murray, Athol, Mearns, and Angus. In this large and fine country they had theſe four towns, Bonatia, Tamea, Alata Caſtra, and Tueſis; about the ſituation of which antiquaries are ſo much divided in their opinions, that nothing certain can be determined. Vacomagi.

37. It is not improbable, that the Horeſti who are mentioned by Tacitus, and were in Horeſti.

[158] Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever. [159] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 369.

Agri-

Agricola's time the inhabitants of Angus, had been incorporated with, or ſubdued by the Vacomagi, before Ptolemy wrote his geography [160].

Venicontes. 38. The Venicontes were the ancient inhabitants of Fife; and had a town named Orrea, which, ſome think, was ſituated where St. Andrew's now ſtands [161]; while others imagine it was ſomewhere near the water of Ore, perhaps at Orrock [162].

Scots and Picts. It hath been already obſerved, that all the unconquered Britons, who dwelt without the limits of the Roman empire, were commonly called by the general name of Caledonii, by the Romans and provincial Britons, during the firſt, ſecond, and third centuries. It is now neceſſary to take notice, that about the beginning of the fourth century, theſe Britons were divided into two conſiderable nations, which began to be known in the world by the new names of Scots and Picts; about the origin and meaning of which names many volumes have been written, and prodigious quantities of ink and paper waſted. That we may not fatigue the reader, we ſhall not ſo much as mention the various opinions which have been advanced on the ſubject, but content ourſelves with a few brief remarks. There is not then the leaſt reaſon to imagine, that the Britiſh nations in the north and unconquered parts of this iſland, who, about the beginning of the fourth century,

[160] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 38.
[161] Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 169.
[162] Horſ. Brit. Rom, p. 373.

began

began to be called Scots and Picts, were a different people from the Caledonians. For if any foreign nations had arrived in Britain at that time, and deſtroyed or conquered the Caledonians, and taken poſſeſſion of their country, ſo great a revolution could not have eſcaped the notice of the Romans, who were very attentive to every thing that happened on their frontiers. It is almoſt equally certain that theſe new names were not aſſumed by the Caledonians themſelves; for to this day they are not adopted by their genuine poſterity in the Highlands of Scotland [163]. To advance one ſtep further, it is highly probable, that theſe names of Scots and Picts were impoſed upon the Caledonians by their neighbours and enemies, the Provincial Britons, out of revenge for the many injuries which they ſuffered, by their frequent depredations. What renders this conjecture almoſt a certainty is, that theſe names, in the vulgar language of Britain at that time, were really names of reproach, expreſſive of the fierce, rapacious character of the Caledonians. For Scuite in the Britiſh tongue (which being latinized made Scoti) ſignifies the wandering nation, which was the real character of the inhabitants of the weſtern coaſts of North Britain at that time; and Pictich (latinized Picti) in the ſame language ſignifies thief or plunderer; which was no leſs characteriſtic of the

[163] Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſert. p. 107.

Caledonians on the eaſt coaſts[164]. For though they differed from their countrymen in the weſt in ſeveral particulars, they moſt cordially united with them in plundering the Provincial Britons. It may be thought a further proof that this was the real origin of the names of the Scots and Picts, that the moſt ancient Roman authors who mention theſe nations by theſe names, often ſubjoin the epithets vagantes, raptores, feræ, and the like, which are literal tranſlations of the Britiſh words Scuite and Pictich[165].

Such ſeem to have been the political diviſions of the territories of this famous iſland, and diſtributions of its inhabitants, in the period we are now conſidering. Such readers as are deſirous of ſeeing a much more ancient ſurvey of the political ſtate of Great Britain in this period, may conſult the work quoted below[166].

Populouſneſs of Britain.

It is impoſſible to diſcover the preciſe number of the people of Great Britain at the firſt Roman invaſion. As both agriculture and commerce were then in their infancy in this iſland, and extenſive tracts of it were covered with woods and marſhes, we may be very certain it was far from being populous. If we allow twenty thouſand perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages, to each of

164 Diſſertation before Oſſian's poems, v. 2. p. 5. Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſertations, p. 110, 111.

165 Ammian. Marcellin. l. 20. c. 1. p. 181. l. 27. c. 8. p. 383.

166 Ricardi Monachi Weſtmonaſterienſis de Situ Britanniæ, Libri duo. Havniæ 1757.

the

the thirty-eight Britiſh nations above mentioned, one with another, they will make in all 760,000. The learned author quoted by Mr. Anderſon, in the introduction to his Hiſtory of Commerce, makes only 360,000 perſons to have been in England when Cæſar invaded it; which computation ſeems to be rather too low, when we conſider what is ſaid by Cæſar of the populouſneſs of Britain, and by Tacitus and Dio of the numerous armies of the ancient Britiſh ſtates [167]. Upon the whole, it is not improbable, that there are nearly as many people at preſent in the metropolis of Great Britain, and its environs, as were in the whole iſland at the firſt Roman invaſion.

It is now time to take a more attentive view of the conſtitution, government, and laws of theſe ancient Britiſh nations.

[167] Cæſar Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 34. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

SECTION II.

The conſtitution, government, and laws of the ancient Britiſh nations, before they were invaded and ſubdued by the Romans.

Government of the ancient Britiſh ſtates monarchical.

WE have ſufficient reaſon to believe, both from the natural courſe of things, and from the teſtimonies of the beſt Greek and Roman authors, that the government of the ancient Britiſh nations, before they were invaded by the Romans, was monarchical. This is the moſt obvious form of government; it bears the greateſt reſemblance to the patriarchal; and hath therefore immediately ſucceeded it in almoſt all parts of the world[1]. That this was the caſe in Britain, we have the cleareſt evidence. Cæſar every where ſpeaks of the Britiſh ſtates as under the government of kings, and hath preſerved the names, and part of the hiſtory of ſeveral of theſe petty monarchs[2]. After the emperor Claudius returned from his Britiſh expedition, he entertained the people of Rome, in the Campus Martius, with a magnificent repreſentation of the ſurrender and ſubmiſſion of the kings of Britain, at which he appeared in his imperial

[1] See the Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 10. and the authors there quoted.

[2] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 30. l. 5. c. 19, 20. 22.

robes.

robes [3]. Diodorus Siculus and Pomponius Mela ſay expreſsly, that Britain contained many nations, which were all governed by kings. To theſe, if it were neceſſary, might be added the teſtimonies of Strabo and Solinus [4]. Dio Caſſius ſeems to think, that the great ſucceſs of the Romans in this iſland under the command of Aulus Plautius, the firſt Roman governor of Britain, was in ſome meaſure owing to this circumſtance; "That the Britons were not then "a free people, but under ſubjection to many "different kings [5]." It is neceſſary to conſider a little more attentively what is ſaid on this ſubject by Tacitus and Dio Nicæus; becauſe it ſeems, at firſt ſight, to be inconſiſtent with the teſtimonies of theſe other authors. "The na"tions of Britain, ſays Tacitus, were formerly "ſubject to kings, but now they are miſerably "divided by the factious cabals of their leading "men." But here Tacitus is evidently ſpeaking of the ſtate of the Britiſh nations in the ſouth in his own time; after their ancient government, which he confeſſes had been monarchical, was diſſolved, and their kings were either killed, captivated, or ſubdued by the Romans. Dio Nicæus gives a very curious deſcription of the Britiſh nations in the north, againſt whom the emperor Severus was engaged; and, amongſt

3 Sueton. vita Claud. c. 21. Diod. Sic. l. 5. c. 21. Pompon. Mela, l. 3. c. 6.

4 Strabo, l. 4. p. 200. Solin. c. 31.

5 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

many other things, ſays, "That the people in "theſe nations have a great ſhare in the ſu- "preme power[6]." Theſe words refer only to the Maeatæ, who lived between the wall of Severus and that of Antoninus Pius, and to the Caledonians, who lived beyond the laſt of theſe walls; and they can mean no more than this, that the fierce and wandering tribes, which inhabited the woods and mountains of Caledonia, were very free, and impatient of the reſtraints of government.

Rules of ſucceſſion to the throne in the ancient Britiſh ſtates.

2. The rules of ſucceſſion to the royal authority, in theſe ancient Britiſh monarchies, were probably not very well underſtood, nor very firmly eſtabliſhed. There is no appearance, however, that they were purely elective; but that the ſucceſſion proceeded in the royal family, though not perhaps always in the direct line. When a prince, at his death, left a ſon of an age and capacity fit for government, he ſucceeded of courſe. This moſt obvious rule of ſucceſſion ſeems to have been well known and much reſpected. Immanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, had been killed by his powerful and ambitious neighbour Caſſibelanus, and his ſon Mandubratius had been obliged to fly out of the iſland to avoid the ſame fate. The young prince put himſelf under the protection of Cæſar, and came over with him into Britain in his ſecond expedition. Though the Trinobantes

[6] Xiphilin. e Dione Nicæo in Sever.

had

had entered into the confederacy with the other Britiſh ſtates, under Caſſibelanus, yet when they heard that their prince was in the Roman camp, they ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar with offers of ſubmiſſion on this condition: "That he ſent "them Mandubratius to ſucceed his father in "the government of their ſtate, and that he pro- "miſed to protect him againſt the violence of "Caſſibelanus[7]." This is a ſtrong proof of their attachment to the family of their ſovereign, and of their regard to this moſt natural rule of ſucceſſion, that of a ſon to his father. When one of theſe ancient Britiſh monarchs left more than one ſon of mature age and ſuitable capacity, little or no regard ſeems to have been paid to the rights of primogeniture, but the dominions of the father were equally divided among his ſons. In this manner the dominions of Cunobelinus were divided between his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus[8]. In this laſt caſe, and perhaps in ſome others, the will of the father appears to have been much regarded in the diviſion of his dominions. For Cunobelinus excluded Adminius, one of his ſons who had offended him, from any ſhare in his ſucceſſion[9]. When a Britiſh king left no ſons, he was ſucceeded by his daughter or his widow. By this rule, Cartiſmandua became queen of the Brigantes, and Boadicia queen of the Iceni: and

7 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 20.
8 Dio. Caſſ. l. 60.
9 Sueton. vita Calig. c. 44.

Tacitus acquaints us, "That in the ſucceſſion "to royal authority, the Britons made no diſ- "tinction of ſexes[10]." We hear of no infant monarchs among the ancient Britons, and of regents governing in their name; of which it is probable they had no ideas. But it is improper to purſue this ſubject any further; for the truth is, that we are not furniſhed with a ſufficient number of examples to enable us to diſcover what were the rules of ſucceſſion in theſe ancient Britiſh kingdoms in many caſes; nor can we be certain that thoſe rules which we have already mentioned, were uniformly obſerved.

Law of Taniſtry.

After ſtates and kingdoms had been ſome time formed in any country, and men had enjoyed the advantages of law and government, they became ſenſible of the inconveniences of an interregnum and diſputed ſucceſſion, and endeavoured to provide againſt them by various means. In Ireland, and in the northern parts of this iſland, the law or cuſtom of Taniſtry (as it is called) prevailed in very ancient times. By this law, one of the royal family, moſt commonly the eldeſt ſon of the reigning prince, or one of the neareſt or moſt worthy of his relations, was appointed to be his ſucceſſor, and was called the Taniſt, which ſignifies the ſecond in dignity[11]. A ſimilar cuſtom alſo prevailed in Wales in the

[10] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 16.

[11] Dr. M'Pherſon's Diſſertations, p. 182. Sir James Ware's Antiq. and Hiſt. of Ireland, c. 8.

tenth

tenth century, and probably long before. The Edling, which is tranſlated princeps deſignatus, or the prince elect, was the chief perſon in the court of the kings of Wales, next to the king and queen. He was commonly the ſon, the brother, or the nephew of the reigning king, was appointed his ſucceſſor, and enjoyed ſeveral honours and privileges as ſuch [12]. But whether they derived this cuſtom from their Britiſh anceſtors, or from their Saxon neighbours, it is not eaſy to determine; though the former ſuppoſition ſeems to be the moſt probable.

Prerogatives of the Britiſh monarchs.

3. It is no leſs difficult to diſcover with certainty and preciſion, the prerogatives of thoſe ancient Britiſh princes, the various kinds and different degrees of authority with which they were inveſted. Theſe, it is probable, were not very accurately defined, nor uniformly exerciſed; and the light which hiſtory affords us on this ſubject, it muſt be confeſſed, is very faint. In general, we may conclude with certainty, that the power of theſe ancient Britiſh monarchs was not unlimited, but rather that it was circumſcribed within very narrow bounds. This, Tacitus aſſures, was the caſe with the petty kings of the Germans in this period [13]; and as the manners, cuſtoms, and laws of the Germans and Britons of theſe times, bore a great reſemblance to

[12] Leges Wallicæ Hoeli Dda. A. Gul. Wottono editæ, l. 1. c. 9. p. 12.

[13] Tacit. de moribus German c. 7.

one

one another in many particulars, there can be no doubt but they did ſo in this [14]. A fierce people, powerful and martial chieftains, and miniſters of religion who had ſo much influence as the Druids, were not likely to ſubmit to the will of a ſovereign as the ſupreme law. They were indeed ſo far from doing this, that they wholly engroſſed ſome, and very much encroached upon other prerogatives, which have been ſince eſteemed eſſential to royalty, even in limited monarchies.

Commanded the forces of their ſtates in war.

One of the chief prerogatives of the Britiſh ſovereigns was that of commanding the forces of their reſpective ſtates in the time of war. This was acknowledged to be the undoubted right, and conſidered as the moſt important duty of ſovereigns in theſe early ages; and whether theſe ſovereigns were kings or queens, they always executed this office in perſon, and not by a ſubſtitute. This is not only agreeable to the obſervation of Ariſtotle, "That in the moſt ancient times, the ſame perſon who was the king of a nation in peace, was its general in war [15];" but naturally reſults from thoſe views which induced ſeveral families to unite into one ſtate, and to ſubmit to one ſovereign; which certainly were, that he might defend them from their enemies, by conducting their united forces with prudence and valour. This is alſo confirmed by

[14] Dr. M'Pherſon's Diſſertations, p. 151.
[15] Ariſtot. Politic. l. 5. c. 5.

every

every part of the Britiſh hiſtory of this period, in which we never hear of an army in the field but under the conduct of a king or queen. But even in the time of war, and at the head of their armies, the authority of theſe ancient Britiſh princes was not unlimited. They were obliged to pay no little deference to the opinions of the chieftains who commanded the ſeveral tribes of which their armies were compoſed, and of the Druids who conſtantly attended theſe armies. In particular, the kings had no power to impriſon or puniſh any of their ſoldiers. This was wholly in the hands of the Druids. "None "but the prieſts can inflict confinement, ſtripes, "or correction of any kind; and they do this "not at the command of the general, but in "obedience to their Gods, who, they pretend, "are peculiarly preſent with their armies in "war[16]." Nor could theſe princes give battle until the prieſts had performed their auguries, and declared that they were favourable[17]. It would not be very difficult to prevail with a people ſo brave and martial as the ancient Britons were, to commence hoſtilities againſt their enemies on very ſlight provocation; and yet we have no reaſon to believe that the Britiſh kings took upon them to make a formal declaration of war without conſulting at leaſt with their nobles

[16] Tacit de morib. German. c. 7.
[17] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 50.

and

and Druids[18]. Among the ancient Germans and Gauls, this of declaring war was one of thoſe great national affairs which was referred to the determination of all the warriors in a ſtate, in their general aſſemblies; and in theſe they ſometimes came to reſolutions directly contrary to the will of their princes[19]. Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a people of Gaul, made this excuſe to Cæſar for having aſſaulted his camp; "That it had been done contrary to his "advice and inclination, by the commands of "his ſubjects; for that by the conſtitution of "his ſtate, the people had as much authority "over him, as he had over them[20]." Monarchy ſeems indeed to have been rather more univerſally eſtabliſhed in Britain than in Gaul

[18] Theſe laſt, in particular, appear to have had a great deal of influence both in declaring war and making peace. "Kings (ſays "one author) are not allowed to do any thing without the Dru"ids; not ſo much as to conſult about putting any deſign in ex"ecution without their participation. So that it is the Druids who "reign in reality, and kings, though they ſit on thrones, feaſt in "ſplendor, and live in palaces, are no more than their inſtruments "and miniſters for executing their deſigns."—(Dio. Chryſoſtom. Orat. 43.) "They liſten with great veneration (ſays another) to "the Druids, not only in all the affairs of peace, but even in war "itſelf. Sometimes they ſtep between two hoſtile armies, who are "on the point of engaging in battle, and prevail upon them, as it were "by a magical incantation, to deſiſt. Thus even in the fierceſt bar"barians, rage gives way to wiſdom, and Mars ſubmits to the "Muſes."—(Diod. Sicul. Amſtelodam. 1746. l. 5. p. 354.)

[19] Tacit. de morib. German. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 56.

[20] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 27.

and

and Germany; but we cannot ſuppoſe that the power of the Britiſh monarchs of theſe times, was much greater than that of their cotemporary princes on the continent, in thoſe ſtates in which that form of government was ſettled [21]. In concluding peace, as well as in declaring war, the Britiſh kings were no doubt obliged to pay a regard to the advice and inclinations of their nobles and Druids. Several of thoſe ſtates which united under Caſſibelanus in oppoſing the firſt invaſions of the Romans, made their peace ſeparately, very much againſt the will of that prince [22].

Authority of the Britiſh monarchs diminiſhed in time of peace.

4. If the authority of theſe ancient kings of Britain was thus limited in the time of war, it was almoſt annihilated in the time of peace. As it was the dread of being overpowered by their hoſtile neighbours, which engaged ſeveral independent tribes to unite into one ſtate, and ſubmit to one ſovereign; ſo when that dread was at an end, the union of theſe tribes to one another, and their ſubjection to their common ſovereign, became very weak, and they returned almoſt to their former independent patriarchal ſtate. It required the experience of ſeveral ages to con-

21 As a proof of this, we may obſerve, that the Britiſh princes made an excuſe to Cæſar for having ſeized and impriſoned Comius, his ambaſſador, of the ſame kind with that of Ambiorix, viz. that it had been done by the multitude, without any command from them.—(Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 27.)

22 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 20, 21.

vince

vince thoſe wild untutored clans of the neceſſity of union, order, and ſubmiſſion to law and government, in peace as well as in war. In ſome of the nations of Germany the royal authority entirely ceaſed as ſoon as a peace was concluded, and was revived again as ſoon as a war broke out[23].

Authority of executing the laws in the hands of the Druids.

The Britiſh ſovereigns of this period had not much authority either in the making or executing the laws, which are the principal acts of government in peaceful times. In that great relaxation of political union and civil government which prevailed in times of peace, their religion ſeems to have been the chief bond of union among the Britiſh tribes and nations; and the Druids, who were the miniſters of that religion, appear to have poſſeſſed the ſole authority of making, explaining, and executing the laws: an authority to which the clergy of the church of Rome long and eagerly aſpired, but never fully obtained. One great reaſon of the ſuperior ſucceſs of the Druids in their ambitious ſchemes was this: the laws among the ancient Britons, and ſome other ancient nations, were not conſidered as the decrees of their princes, but as the commands of their Gods; and the Druids were ſuppoſed to be the only perſons to whom the Gods communicated the knowledge of their commands, and conſequently the only perſons who could declare and explain them to the

[23] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

people[24]. The violations of the laws were not conſidered as crimes againſt the prince or ſtate, but as ſins againſt Heaven; for which the Druids, as the miniſters of Heaven, had alone the right of taking vengeance[25]. All theſe important prerogatives of declaring, explaining, and executing the laws, the Druids enjoyed and exerciſed in their full extent. "All controverſies "(ſays Cæſar) both public and private, are "determined by the Druids. If any crime is "committed, or any murder perpetrated; if "any diſputes ariſe about the diviſion of in-"heritances, or the boundaries of eſtates, they "alone have the right to pronounce ſentence; "and they are the only diſpenſers both of re-"wards and puniſhments[26]." "All the peo-"ple (ſays Strabo) entertain the higheſt opi-"nion of the juſtice of the Druids. To them "all judgment, in public and private, in civil "and criminal caſes, is committed[27]." To theſe two, if it were neceſſary, the teſtimonies of ſeveral other ancient authors might be added. So fully did the Druids poſſeſs the power of judging in all caſes, that they were not under the neceſſity of calling in the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm to execute their ſentences, but per-

[24] Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354. Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

[25] Agreeable to this idea, when criminals were put to death, they were ſacrificed to their Gods, and not to the juſtice of their country.—(Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.)

[26] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

[27] Strabo ab Iſaaco Caſaub. edit. Lutetiæ, 1620. p. 197.

formed

formed this alſo by their own authority, inflicting with their own hands ſtripes and even death on thoſe whom they had condemned[28]. Theſe ghoſtly judges had one engine which contributed much to procure ſubmiſſion to their deciſions. This was the ſentence of excommunication or interdict, which they pronounced againſt particular perſons, or whole tribes, when they refuſed to ſubmit to their decrees. The interdicts of the Druids were no leſs dreadful than thoſe of the Popes, when their power was at its greateſt height. The unhappy perſons againſt whom they were fulminated, were not only excluded from all ſacrifices and religious rites; but they were held in univerſal deteſtation, as impious and abominable; their company was avoided as dangerous and contaminating; they were declared incapable of any truſt or honour, put out of the protection of the laws, and expoſed to injuries of every kind[29]. A condition which muſt have rendered life intolerable, and have brought the moſt refractory ſpirits to ſubmiſſion.

Circumſtances of the judicial proceedings of the Druids.

5. It is not poſſible to recover many particulars concerning the times, places, forms, and circumſtances of the judicial proceedings of theſe awful judges. That they appropriated certain times and ſeaſons for the diſcuſſion of ſuch important cauſes as required deliberation, and could admit of delay, there can be no doubt. In ſettling theſe ſeaſons or terms for judicial pro-

[28] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 7. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.
[29] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

ceedings,

ceedings, they could hardly fail to attend to theſe two circumſtances—That they did not interfere with the times devoted to religion, of which they were the miniſters, nor with the ſeaſons of the moſt neceſſary occupations of the people, to whom they were to adminiſter juſtice. On this laſt account, ſeed-time and harveſt would be vacations. Agreeable to theſe obſervations, we find that there were but two law-terms among the Welſh in very ancient times; the one in ſummer from the ninth day of May to the ninth of Auguſt; the other in winter, from the ninth of November to the ninth of February[30]: a cuſtom which they probably derived from their Britiſh anceſtors. Though the right of adminiſtering juſtice belonged to the order of Druids in general, yet there can be little doubt, that certain particular members of that order, in every country, were appointed to exerciſe that right, and execute the office of judges. How numerous theſe Druidical judges were, whether they were all of one rank, or ſome of them ſubordinate to others, what were the emoluments of their office, where, and with what forms and ceremonies they held their courts, with many other particulars which we might wiſh to know, cannot now be diſcovered with certainty. Their courts, it is probable, were held in the open air, for the conveniency of all who had occaſion to attend them; and on an eminence, that all might

[30] Leges Wallicæ in Præfat. et in Legib. p. 122.

ſee and hear their judges; and near their temples, to give the greater ſolemnity to their proceedings[31]. There was at leaſt one of theſe places of judicature in the territories of every ſtate, perhaps in the lands of every clan or tribe. Whenever there was an Archdruid, he was the ſupreme judge in all cauſes, to whom appeals might be made from the tribunals of inferior judges, and from whoſe tribunal there was no appeal. To hear and determine all cauſes in the laſt reſort, the Archdruid held a grand aſſize once in the year, at a fixed time and place; which was commonly at his ordinary or chief reſidence. The chief reſidence of the Archdruid of Gaul was at Dreux, in the Pais Chartrain; and at this place the grand aſſize for Gaul was held, which is thus deſcribed by Cæſar: "Once in the year, at a certain appointed time, "they aſſemble and hold a great court, in a cer- "tain conſecrated place, in the country of the "Cornutes, which is thought to be in the very "centre of Gaul. Hither thoſe who have any "law-ſuits depending, flock from all parts to "receive their final determination, to which "they implicitly ſubmit[32]." The reſidence of the Archdruid of Britain, it is generally believed, was in the iſle of Angleſey; where it is imagined

[31] By the ancient laws of Wales, the judge is directed to ſit with his back to the ſun or the ſtorm, that they might not incommode him—(Leges Wallicæ, l. 2. c. 10. §12. p. 123.)—Spelmanni Gloſſarium, voce Mallobergium.

[32] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

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the grand aſſize was alſo held, and the ſupreme tribunal fixed. In this iſland, Mr. Rowland thinks he hath diſcovered ſome veſtiges of that tribunal ſtill remaining, which he thus deſcribes: "In the other end of this townſhip of Fre'r "Dryw, wherein all theſe ruins already men- "tioned are, there firſt appears a large cirque or "theatre, raiſed up of earth and ſtones to a "great height, reſembling a horſeſhoe, open- "ing directly to the weſt, upon an even fair ſpot "of ground. This cirque or theatre is made of "earth and ſtones, carried and heaped there to "form the bank. It is within the circumvallation, "about twenty paces over; and the banks, "where whole and unbroken, above five yards "perpendicular height. It is called Bryn-Gwyn, "or Brein-Gwyn, i. e. the ſupreme or royal tri- "bunal. And ſuch the place muſt have been, "wherever it was, in which a ſupreme judge gave "laws to a whole nation [33]."

Revenues of the Britiſh kings.

6. As the authority of the ancient Britiſh kings was very ſmall, eſpecially in times of peace, ſo their revenues could not be very great. Beſides their family eſtates, which were commonly the moſt conſiderable of any in their reſpective nations, they had probably certain lands annexed to their crowns, to enable them to ſupport their dignity, and maintain their numerous followers. It is alſo probable that the cuſtom of making preſents to their princes prevailed in Britain as well as in Germany, and was one conſiderable

33 Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 89, 90.

branch of their revenues. It is thus deſcribed by Tacitus: "The communities are wont of "their own accord, and man by man, to give "to their princes a certain number of beaſts, or "a certain portion of grain; a contribution "which paſſes for a mark of reſpect and honour; "but ſerves only to ſupply their neceſſities[34]." Theſe things, which were at firſt given voluntarily, might perhaps be afterwards demanded as of right; and gave riſe to thoſe numerous preſtations of different kinds, which were afterwards paid by the proprietors of land to their ſovereigns in all the European kingdoms[35]. Martial princes, who were at the head of powerful and warlike nations, frequently received valuable preſents from other princes and ſtates who courted their friendſhip and protection. "They chiefly rejoice (ſays "Tacitus) in the gifts which come from the "bordering countries, ſent not only by parti-"cular perſons, but by whole ſtates; ſuch as "fine horſes, ſplendid armour, rich harneſs, "with chains of gold and ſilver[36]." The riches of a Britiſh king, as they are deſcribed by Caractacus, in his famous ſpeech to the emperor Claudius, conſiſted of ſuch things as theſe, and many of them were, no doubt, obtained in this manner[37]. There was another ſource from which ſome of theſe ancient Britiſh kings derived more

[34] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15.

[35] Hiſtorical Diſſertation on the Antiquity of the Engliſh Conſtitution, p. 105, &c.

[36] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15.

[37] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

ample

ample revenues than from any of thoſe which have been mentioned. This was their ſhare of the booty or plunder which their ſubjects brought home by their predatory incurſions into neighbouring ſtates. Among the ancient Germans robbery was not in the leaſt infamous or diſhonourable, if committed without the territories of the ſtate to which the robbers belonged; but was rather eſteemed a laudable enterpriſe, neceſſary to keep their youth in exerciſe, and prevent them from ſinking into effeminacy [38]. Their greateſt princes often put themſelves at the head of theſe predatory bands, and, by the plunder which they obtained, ſupported their families and rewarded their followers [39]. Theſe incurſions were indeed dignified with the name of wars; but as they were undertaken without any provocation, and with no other view but to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of their neighbours, they deſerve no better title than robberies. We have no reaſon to imagine that the kings of Britain were more reſerved or ſcrupulous in this reſpect than their good brothers of Germany. When Caractacus was conducted into Rome a priſoner, the fine harneſs, the gold chains, and other valuable things which he had taken from his neighbours in war, were carried before him with great oſtentation, as a ſpectacle not unworthy of the attention of the people of Rome, who had been accuſtomed to view the ſpoils of

[38] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.
[39] Tacit de morib. German. c. 14.

the richeſt monarchs[40]. Long after this period, a very conſiderable part of the revenues of the kings of Wales aroſe from the plunder, eſpecially the cattle which their ſubjects brought home by their incurſions into the neighbouring ſtates. By the laws of that country, a third part of all this booty belonged to the king; and it was one part of the office of the ſteward of the houſehold to manage this branch of the royal revenue[41]. When the Britiſh kings began to coin money, which was between the firſt invaſion of the Romans under Julius Cæſar and the ſecond under Claudius, they perhaps made ſome profit by that coinage, which was one of their prerogatives[42]. From theſe, and probably from other ſources to us unknown, the Britiſh princes of this early period derived ſuch revenues that ſome of them were accounted rich for the times in which they flouriſhed. Caractacus boaſts much of his riches in his ſpeech to Claudius; and Tacitus ſays, that Praſutagus, king of the Iceni,

[40] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

[41] Leges Wallicæ, l. 1. c. 14. p. 22.

[42] It is even probable that the ancient Britons were accuſtomed to pay certain taxes to their princes, as the Druids were exempted from the payment of theſe taxes by a ſpecial law.—(Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.)—Tacitus alſo obſerves (Vita Agric. c. 13.), that the Britons paid their taxes, provided they were juſt and reaſonable, with great cheerfulneſs; which ſeems to intimate, that they had not been altogether ſtrangers to the payment of taxes to their own princes, though we know not what theſe taxes were.—Camd. Brit. v. 1. Introduction, p. 110.

was

was a prince very much renowned for his great wealth [43].

7. It is highly probable that the conſtitution of all the Britiſh ſtates in this period was not exactly the ſame; but that ſome of their princes enjoyed greater powers and prerogatives than others. This, as we learn from the writings of Cæſar and Tacitus, was the caſe both in Gaul and Germany at this time; but we have not the advantage of ſuch faithful and intelligent guides to enable us to point out the peculiarities in the conſtitution of the ſeveral ſtates of Britain. Hiſtory hath indeed preſerved the knowledge of one ancient Britiſh kingdom, whoſe conſtitution was very ſingular, and whoſe princes enjoyed prerogatives of an extraordinary nature. This was the kingdom of the Ædudæ, or weſtern iſlands of Caledonia; of which Solinus gives us the following account: "Next to theſe are the "Ædudæ, which, being only ſeparated from "each other by narrow firths, or arms of the "ſea, conſtitute one kingdom. The ſovereign "of this kingdom hath nothing which he can "properly call his own, but he hath the free "and full uſe and enjoyment of all the poſſeſſions "of all his ſubjects. The reaſon of this regula-"tion is, that he may not be tempted to acts "of oppreſſion and injuſtice, by the deſire or "hope of increaſing his poſſeſſions; ſince he "knows that he can poſſeſs nothing. This

Conſtitution of all the Britiſh ſtates not the ſame.

[43] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

"prince is not ſo much as allowed to have a "wife of his own, but he hath free acceſs "to the wives of all his ſubjects; that having "no children which he knows to be his own, he "may not be prompted to encroach on the "privileges of his ſubjects, in order to aggran-"dize his family[44]." This very ſingular ſcheme of government (if there is any truth in the above narration) was probably the invention of ſome artful Druids, in whom theſe iſlands very much abounded, who thought themſelves ſufficiently happy in the enjoyment of all things, without the anxiety and trouble with which the poſſeſſion of them is attended.

No univerſal monarch in Britain.

8. There was no ſupreme monarch in Britain, in this period, who had any paramount authority over the other monarchs. Sometimes, perhaps, one of theſe princes, by marriage, or by his ſuperior valour and good fortune in war, obtained the dominion of two or more of theſe little kingdoms. But theſe kingdoms were ſoon after divided among that monarch's ſons, and returned to their former independency. Nor were there ſo much as any extenſive alliances or ties of union among theſe princes and ſtates. They were not only independent, but jealous of one another; and even in times of common danger, they had not ſo much political temper and wiſdom, as to forget their animoſity, and form one general confederacy for their common

[44] Julii Solini Polihiſtoria. Baſiliæ, ſine anno, c. 35. p. 168.

ſafety. To this want of union, Tacitus aſcribes the ruin of theſe ſtates, and their ſubjection to the Romans. "There was one thing which "gave us a great advantage againſt theſe power- "ful nations, that they never conſulted together "in one body about the ſecurity of the whole. "It was even rare that two or three of theſe "ſtates united their forces againſt the common "enemy. By this means, while each of them "fought ſeparately, they were all ſucceſſively "ſubdued [45]."

Progreſs of laws.

II. States and kingdoms, as well as particular perſons, have their birth and infancy. Kingdoms in their infant ſtate are ſmall and weak; they have few laws, and theſe few are rather the dictates of neceſſity than of deliberation, eſtabliſhed more by tacit conſent than by any formal decree. In that ſtate of ſociety neither princes nor people are well qualified for being legiſlators; and they are too much taken up with the more preſſing cares of defending and providing for themſelves, to have leiſure for political ſpeculations. But when they are well eſtabliſhed, and have provided for their ſubſiſtence and ſecurity, they begin to think of making improvements in their government and laws. Crimes againſt the public and againſt individuals are prohibited and puniſhed; the rights and duties of all the different ranks of men in the ſtate are aſcertained, property is ſecured, the rules of ſucceſſion ſettled,

45 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

a code

a code of laws is gradually formed, and courts and judges appointed for putting them in execution. In their advances towards a ſtate of political maturity, their laws are more or leſs complete, according to the ſtage of civilization at which they are arrived.

Antiquity of Britiſh laws.

The Britiſh kingdoms, we have reaſon to believe, were in poſſeſſion of a ſyſtem of laws of conſiderable extent, before they were ſubdued by the Romans. Some of theſe kingdoms had ſubſiſted ſeveral ages before that period. Almoſt a whole century had elapſed between the firſt invaſion under Julius Cæſar and the ſecond under Claudius, and yet we find no material difference in the political ſtate of Britain in theſe two periods. In both it was divided into ſeveral little monarchies, each of which was governed by its own king; and it had, no doubt, been in this ſtate long before the firſt of theſe invaſions. In ſo long a courſe of time they muſt have acquired ſome ſkill in government and legiſlation, eſpecially the Druids, who devoted their whole time to the ſtudy of learning, religion, and law, of which they were the great oracles and interpreters. This was certainly one important branch of that great ſyſtem of learning, which required the conſtant application of twenty years; and as ſome of the Druids were deſigned and appointed judges in the ſeveral Britiſh kingdoms, theſe might perhaps apply more particularly to the ſtudy of law. But though it is thus highly probable, that the ancient Britons had a large

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of laws, a minute detail of the particulars contained in that ſyſtem cannot be expected from any writer in this age. The moſt that can be done on this ſubject, is to make a few general obſervations on the nature and ſpirit of theſe ancient Britiſh laws, and to collect a few particulars which are preſerved in hiſtory to ſupport and illuſtrate theſe obſervations.

Compoſed in verſe.

The laws, as well as the other branches of learning among the ancient Britons, were couched in verſe. Though this may appear a little extraordinary to us, it was far from being peculiar to the ancient Britons. "The firſt laws of all nations (ſays a learned writer on this ſubject) "were compoſed in verſe, and ſung. We have "certain proof, that the firſt laws of Greece were "a kind of ſongs. The laws of the ancient inhabitants of Spain were verſes which they ſung. "Twiſton was regarded by the Germans as their "firſt lawgiver. They ſaid he put his laws into "verſes and ſongs. This ancient cuſtom was "long kept up by ſeveral nations[46]." This practice of compoſing their laws in verſe, and forming them into ſongs, was owing to that ſurpriſing love which the nations of antiquity bore to poetry and muſic[47]. This alſo rendered thoſe laws more agreeable to a poetical people, made it eaſier for them to get them by heart and retain them in memory.

46 Origin of Laws, &c. by Preſident de Goguet, v. 1. b. 1. p. 28, 29. atque auctor. ibi citat.

47 See Chap. IV.

It

Never committed to writing.

It was one of the moſt inviolable laws of the ancient Britons, never to commit any of their laws to writing[48]. This is not aſcribed by Cæſar to their ignorance of letters, but to other reaſons; for he expreſsly ſays in the ſame place, that they made uſe of letters both in public and private tranſactions[49]. To the two reaſons which are aſſigned for this law, by that very intelligent writer, this third one may perhaps be added; that while the laws were unwritten, they were more entirely in the hands, and at the diſpoſal of the Druids; who alone had leiſure and opportunity to make themſelves complete maſters of them. But whatever were the reaſons of this law, it was certainly the cauſe that we know ſo little of the laws of the ancient Britons. For as they were repoſited in the Breaſts of the Druids, when they were deſtroyed their laws periſhed with them, except a few particulars which have been preſerved by the Greek and Roman writers; and a few others, which had taken ſuch deep root in the minds and manners of the Britons, that they were diſcernible in the laws and cuſtoms of their poſterity many ages after.

Conſidered as the commands of their Gods.

It hath been already obſerved, that the laws of the ancient Britons were conſidered as the laws of their Gods, rather than of their kings. Nor was this peculiar to the ancient Britons, it was the ſame in all other ancient nations. The firſt legiſlators were convinced, that their own autho-

[48] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. [49] Id. ibid.

rity

rity was not ſufficient to bridle the impetuous paſſions of thoſe bold and fierce men to whom they gave laws. They called Heaven to their aſſiſtance; and declared, that they had received their inſtitutions from ſome Divinity, who would take vengeance on thoſe who dared to violate them. Thus Numa Pompilius, the great legiſlator of ancient Rome, gave out, that he received all his laws from the Goddeſs Egeria, "That the Barbarians (as Florus obſerves) "might receive and obey them [50]." One conſequence of this view of their laws we have already mentioned, viz. that the prieſts of their Gods were the oracles of their laws. Another conſequence of it was, that the laws which related to their religion, the worſhip of the Gods, and the privileges of their miniſters, obtained the firſt place in their ſyſtem of juriſprudence; and were declared to be of the moſt ſacred and inviolable obligation. That the Gods are to be worſhipped, was probably the very firſt law in the Druidical ſyſtem [51]. To this all the other preſcriptions relating to the rites, times, places, and other circumſtances of that worſhip would naturally follow, with proper ſanctions to ſecure obedience. The laws aſcertaining the honours, rights, and privileges of the Druids; thoſe declaring their perſons inviolable, and providing for their immunity from taxes and military ſervices, were not forgotten [52].

50 Florus, l. 1. c. 2.
51 Diogen. Laert. in proem.
52 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

In

Law of marriage.

In the ſtate of nature the promiſcuous intercourſe of the ſexes was productive of the moſt ſhocking diſorders and grievous calamities [53]. It was one of the firſt cares, therefore, of all legiſlators, to regulate that intercourſe, and ſecure the rights of marriage, on which the order, peace, and happineſs of ſociety ſo much depend. Accordingly the inſtitution of marriage is aſcribed by all nations to their moſt ancient legiſlators [54]. That great law, the marriage of one man and one woman, which is ſo clearly pointed out by nature, was fully and firmly eſtabliſhed among the ancient Britons. This is evident from their whole hiſtory, in which we never meet with the leaſt hint, that any one man was allowed more than one wife, or any woman more than one huſband. If ſuch an indulgence had been allowed to any, it would have been to thoſe who were inveſted with royal authority, as it was among the Germans at this period [55]. But kings and queens in Britain were ſubject to this great law, as well as their meaneſt ſubjects; and when they preſumed to violate it, they were hated and abandoned by all the world. This appears from the ſtory of Cartiſmandua, who was queen of the Brigantes, in her own right, which is thus related by Tacitus: "Cartiſmandua, queen of

53 Quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum,
Viribus editior, cædebat ut in grege taurus.
Hor. lib. 1. ſat. 3. v. 109.

54 Origin of laws, &c. v. 1. p. 22.

55 Tacit de morib. Germ. c. 18.

"the

"the Brigantes, was deſcended from a long race "of royal anceſtors, and famous for her power "and wealth, to which ſhe received a great "acceſſion for betraying Caractacus to the em- "peror Claudius, to adorn his triumph. Cor- "rupted by her great proſperity, ſhe abandoned "herſelf to luxury; and deſpiſing her huſband "Venutius, ſhe advanced her armour-bearer "Vellocatius to his place in her throne and bed. "This flagitious action proved the ruin of her- "ſelf and family. For her ſubjects, the Bri- "gantes, eſpouſing the cauſe of her injured "huſband, ſhe was reduced to the greateſt diſ- "treſs, and implored the protection of the Ro- "mans. We ſent an army to her relief, which "reſcued her perſon, and fought ſeveral battles "in her cauſe, but ſhe was at laſt obliged to leave "her kingdom in the poſſeſſion of Venutius[56]." Where this great law was thus firmly eſtabliſhed, we may be almoſt certain that all the circumſtances of marriage were regulated, and the rights of parents, huſbands, wives, and children were aſcertained. In Gaul, and perhaps in Britain, huſbands and fathers had a very great authority over their wives and children, even ſo great as to put them to death[57]; but this authority was undoubtedly regulated by certain laws. In the ancient laws of Wales (which, in this and ſeveral other particulars, were very probably derived from thoſe of the ancient Britons) all the

[56] Tacit. Hiſtor. l. 3. c. 45. [57] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19.

caſes

caſes in which a huſband was allowed to beat his wife are enumerated[58]. The matrimonial tie among the ancient Britons was far from being indiſſoluble. They were too little accuſtomed to moral diſcipline, and the government of their paſſions, to ſubmit to a reſtraint which was to end only with life. The laws of Hoel Dda, king of Wales, who was a Chriſtian prince, and flouriſhed in the tenth century, allow of a divorce for ſo trifling a cauſe as an unſavoury or diſagreeable breath[59]. This law is ſo contrary to the precepts of Chriſtianity, which had been long eſtabliſhed in Wales, that we may be almoſt certain that it was one of the laws of their Heathen anceſtors[60]. The ancient Britons are accuſed by ſeveral authors of ſome practices which are very inconſiſtent with conjugal fidelity[61]. But as theſe practices are ſuch as we can hardly ſuppoſe were eſtabliſhed by law, they will fall more properly under our conſideration in another place[62].

[58] Leges Wallicæ, l. 4. ſive Triades Florences, Triad. 5. p. 300. Triad. 155. p. 352.

[59] Ibid. Triad. 1. p. 298.

[60] But though marriage among the Britons (and indeed among all the nations of antiquity) was too eaſily and too frequently diſſolved, yet the laws provided with great care for the maintenance of the children, and the equitable diviſion of the effects of the family according to the circumſtances of every caſe. The ancient laws of Wales deſcend to very long and particular details on this ſubject, and make proviſion for every poſſible caſe with the moſt minute exactneſs.—(Leges Wallicæ, l. 2. De mulieribus, c. 1. p. 73, &c.)

[61] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

[62] See Chap. VII. Of Manners.

The

Penal laws reſpecting men's perſons.

The deſire of procuring protection to their lives, perſons, and properties, was one of the chief things which induced families to unite together, to form ſtates and kingdoms, and to ſubmit to the reſtraints of law and government. In their independent ſtate they enjoyed unlimited liberty, but little ſafety; and therefore they thought it prudent to reſign a part of their liberty to obtain a greater degree of ſecurity againſt all acts of violence, and injuries of every kind. This ſecurity was obtained in ſociety, and under regular government, by particular laws againſt all acts of violence, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, enforced by proper penalties, and therefore called penal laws. By theſe laws the whole power of the ſtate was armed with vengeance againſt every particular member of it, who dared to injure any other member, or to diſturb the public peace and good order. The penal laws of almoſt all governments, at or near their firſt eſtabliſhment, were remarkably ſevere; it being no eaſy matter to deter men from thoſe acts of violence to which they had been accuſtomed in their independent ſtate [63]. Such were the moſt ancient penal laws of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, which abounded very much in capital puniſhments, and thoſe of the moſt dreadful kind. By the laws of Gaul and Britain, a wife who was ſuſpected of having occaſioned the death of her huſband, was tortured as cruelly as the vileſt ſlave, and if convicted,

[63] Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 20.

was burnt to death in the moſt excruciating manner[64]. By theſe laws alſo, not only murderers, but robbers, thieves, and ſome other criminals (perhaps adulterers), were puniſhed with the ſame cruel kind of death[65]. In Germany, thoſe who betrayed or deſerted the cauſe of their country, were hanged on trees; and cowards, ſluggards, debauchees, and proſtitutes, were ſuffocated in mires and bogs[66]. As there was ſo very ſtriking a reſemblance between the Germans and Britons in this period, it is not improbable, that theſe uſeleſs members and peſts of human ſociety were puniſhed in the ſame manner in this iſland[67]. But beſides theſe greater crimes againſt the ſtate in general, or againſt particular members of it, which were capitally puniſhed, there were many ſmaller injuries, ſuch as maiming, wounding, ſtriking, &c. which required to be diſcouraged, but did not deſerve to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed. With regard to theſe, the moſt natural and obvious idea of puniſhment was that of retaliation. Accordingly we find that this law of retaliation, or an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, &c. was eſtabliſhed, not only among the Iſraelites, but alſo among the Greeks and Romans, and very probably among the Germans, Gauls, and Britons, in the moſt an-

64 Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19. 65 Ibid. c. 16.

66 Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 12.

67 Dr. M'Pherſon's Diſſert. xii.—Is not the ducking-ſtool a relic of this laſt kind of puniſhment?

cient

cient periods of their ſeveral ſtates[68]. But this law, ſo equitable in ſpeculation, was every where found to be very inconvenient in practice; and when rigorouſly executed, it was often deſtructive to the criminal, and afforded no reparation to the injured party. For this reaſon, this law had many exceptions and abatements made to it in every country, and in many it went quite into diſuſe. In many caſes it was found to be for the good of the public, and for the intereſt of the injured party, to accept of a certain compenſation from the criminal in lieu of his corporal puniſhment[69]. "In lighter tranſgreſſions, among "the ancient Germans, the puniſhment was "proportioned to the crime; and the criminal, "upon conviction, was condemned to pay a "certain number of horſes and cattle, which "were divided between the king or ſtate, and "the perſon who had received the injury or his "family[70]." Though we cannot produce ſo expreſs a teſtimony, that this practice of making compenſation for corporal injuries, prevailed in Britain before the Roman invaſion, yet it ſeems probable that it did, and that the Druids, who had the adminiſtration of juſtice entirely in their hands, would encourage it for their own intereſt. After this law of compenſations for bodily injuries was introduced, it gradually prevailed more and more, until it put an almoſt total

68 Exod. c. 21. v. 23, 25. Pauſan. l. 1. c. 28. Aul. Gel. l. 20. c. 1.

69 Exod. c. 21. v. 22. 30.

70 Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 12.

period to all corporal and capital puniſhments. Revenge, which is the prevailing paſſion in ſavage life, yielded to avarice, which is apt to prevail too much in the ſocial ſtate, when poſſeſſions become ſecure, and the family of a murdered perſon began to thirſt more after the goods than after the blood of the murderer; thinking the former a much better compenſation for the loſs of their friend than the latter. But as this great revolution in the ſpirit of penal laws did not take place in this iſland in the ancient Britiſh times, it doth not fall ſo properly under our preſent conſideration.

Reſpecting their properties.

As mankind in the ſocial ſtate, even after the rights of property were eſtabliſhed, were expoſed to injuries in their poſſeſſions, as well as in their perſons, it became neceſſary to ſecure the former, as well as the latter, by penal laws. Their flocks and herds were the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of almoſt all nations in the moſt early period of their hiſtory. Several of the Britiſh nations, when they were firſt invaded by the Romans, had no other poſſeſſions, or means of ſubſiſtence, but their cattle; and therefore we may be certain, that by their laws, the ſtealing or killing of any of theſe precious animals would be very penal, probably capital[72]. Even when the ſeverity of penal law was mitigated by admitting compenſations, the compenſations required for ſtealing, killing, or maiming horſes, oxen, cows, ſheep, ſwine, &c. were ſo high as made it very impru-

[72] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14. l. 6. c. 16.

dent

dent and dangerous to be guilty of theſe crimes. The ancient laws of Wales diſcover the moſt extreme ſolicitude and anxiety about the ſafety and preſervation of animals of all kinds. A high price is ſet, not only upon the life, but upon every limb of every uſeful animal [73]. The reader who hath no opportunity of ſeeing theſe laws, may form ſome judgment of their great minuteneſs from this circumſtance: it is declared by a ſpecial law, that there are only three things appertaining either to field or domeſtic animals, for which no compenſation ſhall be demanded, viz. the milk of a mare, the milk of a bitch, and the milk of a cat [74]. In thoſe Britiſh ſtates where agriculture was practiſed, a greater number and variety of penal laws were neceſſary, to protect the cattle and implements employed in huſbandry; to prevent land-marks from being removed; and to preſerve the precious fruits of the earth from being deſtroyed or injured. The labouring ox was the peculiar care of the wiſeſt legiſlators, and to kill one of theſe uſeful animals, even for food, was declared to be an impious deed, and made capital by the laws of many ancient nations, and very probably by thoſe of Britain [75]. By the ancient laws of Wales it was

[73] Leges Wallicæ, l. 3. c. 3. p. 207—260.

[74] Ibid. l. 4. Triad. Forenſ. Triad. 209. p. 374.

[75] Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. l. 12. c. 34. Varro de Re Ruſt. l. 6. v. 5. Plin. l. 8. c. 45.

Ante etiam ſceptrum Dictæi reges, et ante
Impia quam cæſis gens eſt epulata juvencis,
Aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat.

Virg. Georg. l. 2. v. 536.

forbidden, under certain penalties, to throw a ſtone at an ox in the plough, to tie the yoke too tight about his neck, or to urge him on to too great an effort in drawing[76]. Theſe laws diſcover great attention to the preſervation of that valuable animal. Ploughs, and all other implements of huſbandry, which were left in the fields, were guarded by particular penal laws, from being ſtolen or deſtroyed. The removing of land-marks hath been declared highly criminal, and ſeverely puniſhed by the laws of all nations[77]. This is one of thoſe crimes of which the Druids of Gaul and Britain took particular cognizance[78]. Great care was alſo taken by ancient legiſlators to preſerve the fruits of the earth from all injuries, and to procure full compenſation for any damage they had ſuſtained, that the induſtrious huſbandman might not be robbed of the rewards of his toil[79]. The moſt ancient laws of Britain appear to have been remarkably ſevere on this head, and to have allowed very high damages to the huſbandman; for by them he was authoriſed to ſeize and keep to himſelf one out of every three hogs, ſheep, goats, geeſe, and hens, that he found among his corn; and he was even permitted to chooſe the ſecond-beſt of the three[80]. But this law could only ſubſiſt in the infancy of agriculture,

[76] *Leges Wallicæ*, l. 3. c. 9. p. 281.
[77] Deut. c. 19. v. 14. Job, c. 24, v. 2.
[78] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. [79] Exod. c. 22. v. 5, 6.
[80] Leges Wallicæ, l. 3. c. 10, § 6. 8. p. 285.

when corn was very ſcarce and precious, and theſe animals very plentiful and of little value. Accordingly, it was afterwards very much mitigated, and the huſbandman was only allowed to take one out of fifteen hogs, and one out of thirty ſheep, goats, geeſe, and hens; and if there was not ſo great a number, he was to have a compenſation in money, according to that proportion [81]. The great diſproportion between hogs and the other creatures mentioned in this laſt law is very remarkable, and might perhaps be owing, either to the greater plenty of theſe animals, or to their being eſteemed more deſtructive to the corn. In thoſe Britiſh ſtates which were frequented by foreign merchants, and where commerce was carried on, there would be occaſion for another claſs of penal laws, to protect the goods of the adventurous merchant and mariner, from being ſeized or ſtolen, eſpecially in caſe of ſhipwreck, when they are moſt expoſed to ſuch injuries. What the particulars of theſe marine and mercantile laws were, cannot now be diſcovered; but we have ſome reaſon to think, that they were more juſt and generous than thoſe of the middle ages, which gave the ſpoils of the unfortunate mariner either wholly to the king, or divided them between the king and the lord of the manor, where they were caſt on ſhore [82]. For it will be made appear, that foreign mer-

[81] Leges Wallicæ, l. 3. c. 10. § 6. 8. p. 285.

[82] Ibid. l. 2. c. 17. p. 151, 152. Spelman Gloſſ. voce Wrecum maris.

chants enjoyed very great ſecurity for themſelves and their effects in this iſland, in the ancient Britiſh times [83]. There were probably no penal laws among the ancient Britons to prevent or puniſh verbal injuries, which are ſo ſenſibly felt, and ſo fiercely reſented in modern times. In almoſt all the nations of antiquity the coarſeſt language was given and returned without ceremony, and was not conſidered as an object worthy of the attention of legiſlators.

Britiſh common law.

But ſecurity to their perſons and properties from acts of violence, was not the only benefit which mankind derived from laws and government. By theſe, deceit and falſehood, as well as violence, were baniſhed from ſociety, or at leaſt an attempt was made to baniſh them: by theſe, mutual truſt and confidence were eſtabliſhed among mankind; truth and fidelity were made to reign in their dealings, covenants, and engagements; or when they were violated, an eaſy method of redreſs was provided. In civilized nations, which have arrived at great knowledge in government and legiſlation, theſe deſirable ends are obtained by a great number of poſitive ſtatutes, or by eſtabliſhed forms and rules of proceeding, which have acquired the force of ſtatutes by immemorial cuſtom. But in nations which have not attained to ſo great maturity, only certain general maxims of juſtice and equity are eſtabliſhed, and the application of theſe

[83] See Chap. VI.

maxims

maxims to particular caſes, is left to the wiſdom and integrity of the judges. This was certainly the ſtate of what may be called the common law among the ancient Britons. Thoſe principles of truth, fidelity, juſtice, and equity, in which the Druids inſtructed the people in their diſcourſes, they made the rules of their deciſions when they acted as judges. An eminent ſage of the law hath indeed affirmed, that the ancient Britons, before they were ſubdued by the Romans, were in poſſeſſion of that admirable ſyſtem of juriſprudence, the preſent common law of England; and that no material changes have been made in that ſyſtem, either by the Romans, the Saxons, Danes, or Normans. His words are theſe: "The realm "of England was firſt inhabited by the Britons: "next after them it was ruled by the Romans; "then again by the Britons: after whom the "Saxons poſſeſſed it, and changed its name "from Britain to England: then the Danes "for ſome time had the dominion of it; then "again the Saxons: laſt of all the Normans, "whoſe poſterity govern it at preſent. Yet, in "the times of all theſe different nations and "kings, this kingdom hath always been go-"verned by the ſame cuſtoms by which it is go-"verned at preſent. If theſe ancient Britiſh "cuſtoms had not been moſt excellent, reaſon, "juſtice, and the love of their country, would "have induced ſome of theſe kings to change or "aboliſh them; eſpecially the Romans, who "ruled all the reſt of the world by the Roman "laws."

" laws [84]." But theſe words of this great lawyer are rather to be conſidered as a panegyrical declamation, deſigned to inſpire the young prince to whom they were addreſſed with veneration for the laws of England, than an hiſtorical narration dictated by ſtrict truth. There might however be a conſiderable reſemblance between the judicial deciſions of the Britiſh Druids, and the regulations of the common law of England. For as right reaſon, equity, and juſtice, are eternally and univerſally the ſame; if the deciſions of the Druids were regulated by theſe, they would in ſimilar caſes, materially, though perhaps not formally, coincide with thoſe of the common law, which is regulated by reaſon, equity, and juſtice. The deſign, for example, of the Druidical interdict deſcribed by Cæſar, was to procure ſubmiſſion to the laws, by depriving thoſe of all benefit from them who refuſe to ſubmit to them [85]: this is alſo the deſign of an outlawry in the common law of England, and therefore there muſt be a material coincidence between theſe two legal operations [86]. But that all the modes and forms of the common law of England were known to and obſerved by the ancient Britons before they were ſubdued by the Romans; and that they have not been changed by that

[84] Sir John Forteſcue de laudibus legum Angliæ, publiſhed with notes by Mr. Selden, c. 17. p. 38, 39.

[85] Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

[86] Bracton, l. 3. c. 13.

conqueſt,

conqueſt, nor by any of the ſucceeding revolutions, is quite incredible. What Jeffrey of Monmouth ſays of the laws of king Molmutius and queen Martia, merits no attention [87].

Laws of evidence.

It is impoſſible for us to diſcover many particulars of the laws of evidence among the ancient Britons. That they made uſe of oaths or ſolemn appeals to their Gods, to oblige witneſſes to declare the truth, we have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt, when we conſider that they were a very religious, or rather a very ſuperſtitious people, and that their judges were prieſts. We learn from Tacitus, that the forms of their vows and oaths were different in the different Britiſh nations; and that the members of each ſtate obſerved that form of ſwearing which was eſtabliſhed in their own country [88]. For as there is hardly any thing in which all the nations of the world have more univerſally agreed, than in making uſe of oaths, as the moſt effectual way of obliging witneſſes to declare the truth in judgment; ſo there are few things in which they have differed more than in the forms of theſe oaths. The ancient Welſh had ſome very ſingular forms of giving evidence, which are too indelicate to be quoted even in a dead language, and which it is highly probable they derived, in part at leaſt, from their Britiſh anceſtors.

Laws of compurgation.

It is impoſſible to diſcover whether the laws of compurgation were known to the ancient Britons

[87] Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 11. c. 17. l. 111. c. 13.

[88] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 34.

or

or not. By theſe laws, which obtained in very early times among the Welſh, when a perſon accuſed denied the accuſation upon oath, he was obliged to bring a certain number of compurgators to ſwear to the truth or credibility of what he had ſworn. The number of compurgators required by theſe laws was proportioned to the nature of the crime; and if the compurgators were ſuch in number and quality as the laws required in that caſe, and ſwore with ſufficient unanimity to the innocence of the perſon accuſed, he was acquitted; if not, he was condemned [89].

Torture. When ſufficient evidence was not given againſt a perſon accuſed, by the depoſitions of witneſſes, both the Gauls and Britons, in ſome caſes, employed the cruel method of torture to force unhappy perſons to confeſs their guilt. "When a "wife (ſays Cæſar) is accuſed of having had "any hand in the death of her huſband, ſhe is "put to the ſame kind of torture with the "meaneſt ſlave [90]."

Ordeals. The great object which many nations of antiquity ſeem to have had in view in their criminal trials, was not ſo much to preſerve the innocent from being condemned, as to prevent the guilty from eſcaping condemnation. Therefore, when they could neither prove their guilt by witneſſes, nor extort a confeſſion by tortures,

89 Leges Wallicæ, l. 11. c. 9. l. 111. c. 3. p. 108, 109.
90 Cæſ. Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19.

they

they applied to Heaven for evidence againſt them, and interrogated Omniſcience by many different rites. It would be eaſy to demonſtrate that the practice of applying to Heaven for a diſcovery of the guilt of criminals by various ordeals (which conſtituted ſo great a part of the juriſprudence of all the nations of Europe in the middle ages) was known to the Greeks, Romans, and ſeveral other nations, in very early times [91]. It appears from a remarkable paſſage in Velleius Paterculus, that the judicial combat was the moſt common way of determining all kinds of controverſies among the Germans in the Auguſtan age. For that hiſtorian acquaints us, that the Germans betrayed Quinctilius Varus, the Roman commander, in their country, into a profound ſecurity, which proved fatal to himſelf and his whole army, by bringing many of their diſputes before his tribunal, and by pretending that they were much better pleaſed with that rational method of ending them, than with their own barbarous cuſtom of deciding them by the ſword [92]. When all this is conſidered, we can hardly entertain a doubt, that the Druidical judges of Gaul and Britain pretended to interrogate their Gods, by various ordeals, about the guilt of thoſe perſons who were brought before their tribunals, when little evidence of it could be found amongſt men. For

[91] Spelmanni Gloſſarium, voc. Judicium Dei, p. 344. Stiernhook de Jure Saxonum, c. 8. p. 83.

[92] C. Vell. Paterc. Hiſt. l. 11. c. 118.

they

they were great pretenders to divination, and were believed by the people to have the moſt effectual arts of diſcovering the will of their Gods on all occaſions; and they could not but perceive that this kind of evidence might be made to prove whatever they pleaſed, and put the lives and fortunes of all men into their hands. It is not improbable that thoſe queſtions or tortures to which wives ſuſpected of the murder of their huſbands were put, might be fire or water ordeals, or ſomething of that kind. However this may be, it is very certain that when this celeſtial evidence (as it may be called) was once introduced into the trial of criminals, human teſtimony came to be very little regarded; and the fate of all who were accuſed depended almoſt intirely upon the pretended depoſitions of theſe inviſible witneſſes. This will appear in a very ſtrong and ſurpriſing light in our hiſtory of the laws of evidence, in the next period.

Laws of ſucceſſion.

To be protected in their lives, perſons, and properties, and in the enjoyment of all their rights, are ineſtimable bleſſings which mankind derive from equitable laws and regular government; but even theſe are not all the benefits which they derive from them. For though men cannot enjoy their poſſeſſions any longer than they live, yet they are very far from being indifferent to whom they ſhall devolve at their death. The care and labour which they have beſtowed upon them, the comforts and enjoyments which they have received from them, make

make them earneſtly deſire that they may be poſſeſſed by thoſe perſons who are naturally the objects of their affection; and the aſſurance that they will be ſo, gives them no little ſatisfaction. But this ſatisfaction can only be enjoyed in the ſocial ſtate, and under the influence of laws regulating the order of ſucceſſion. Theſe laws of ſucceſſion have been different in different countries; and even in the ſame country, in different periods of ſociety. In thoſe ancient Britiſh ſtates, where the whole riches of the people conſiſted in their flocks and herds, the laws of ſucceſſion were few and ſimple: and a man's cattle, at his death, were divided equally among his ſons; or, if he left no ſons, among his daughters; or, if he left no children, among his neareſt relations. This was the rule of ſucceſſion among the ancient Germans as well as Britons[93]. Theſe nations ſeem to have had no idea of the rights of primogeniture, or that the eldeſt ſon had any title to a larger ſhare of his father's effects than the youngeſt. This rule of an equal diviſion was ſo inviolably obſerved by the Germans, and probably by the Britons, that the father could make no other diſtribution of his goods by will or teſtament[94]. The laws of ſucceſſion ſeem to have been much the ſame in thoſe Britiſh ſtates where the lands were divided and cultivated. A man's lands at his death did not deſcend to his eldeſt ſon, but were equally divided among all

93 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 20. 94 Id. ibid.

his

his ſons; and when any diſpute aroſe in the diviſion of them, it was determined by the Druids [95]. This law or cuſtom (which in England was afterwards known by the name of Gavelkind) was obſerved very long among the poſterity of the ancient Britons. It appears plainly in the laws of Hoel Dda, king of Wales, in the tenth century. By that time, indeed, the clergy were labouring hard to introduce the obſervation of the canon-law, which favoured the right of primogeniture; but the municipal laws of Wales were ſtill in favour of the ancient cuſtom of an equal diviſion. "By the eccleſiaſtical law, none ſhall "ſucceed to the father in his eſtate, but his "eldeſt ſon, lawfully begotten. By the laws "of Hoel Dda, it is decreed, that the youngeſt "ſon ſhall have an equal ſhare of the eſtate with "the eldeſt [96]." Nay, in ſome other places of theſe laws, which ſettle the manner in which the eſtate was to be divided among the ſons, it appears that the youngeſt was more favoured in the diviſion than the eldeſt, or any of his brothers. "When the brothers have divided their "father's eſtate amongſt them, the youngeſt bro-"ther ſhall have the beſt houſe, with all the "office-houſes; the implements of huſbandry, "his father's kettle, his ax for cutting wood, "and his knife. Theſe three laſt things the fa-"ther cannot give away by gift, nor leave by

95 Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

96 Leges Wallicæ, l. 11. c. 17. p. 149.

"his

"his laſt will to any but his youngeſt ſon; and "if they are pledged, they ſhall be redeemed [97]." The reaſon of this extraordinary law might perhaps be this: The elder brothers of a family were ſuppoſed to have left their father's houſe before his death, and to have obtained houſes and neceſſaries of their own; but the youngeſt, by reaſon of his tender age, and by continuing in his father's family to the laſt, was conſidered as more helpleſs and worſe provided.

This account of the conſtitution, government, and laws of the ancient Britons before they were invaded by the Romans, will perhaps appear to ſome readers too minute and tedious, and, to others very imperfect and defective. To give as little diſguſt as we can to the former, and as much ſatisfaction as we can to the latter, ſeveral particulars relating to the polity of the Britons of this period, are referred to the chapter on manners and cuſtoms, where they may be introduced with equal propriety [98]. Some particulars referred to chap. 7.

97 Leges Wallicæ, l. 11. c. 12. p. 139.

98 See Chap. VII.

SECTION III.

The civil and military government of the Romans in Britain.

Romans excelled in the arts of government.

THE Romans are better entitled to the admiration of mankind, for their policy in preſerving and governing, than for their valour in making their conqueſts. Their valour was ſanguinary and deſtructive; but their policy, though ſelfiſh and intereſted, was ſalutary and beneficial. By the former they ſpread deſolation and the horrors of war through all the countries of Europe, and through ſeveral provinces of Aſia and Africa: by the latter they introduced civility, order, wiſe laws, and regular government into all theſe countries. For there was nothing at which that extraordinary people laboured with greater earneſtneſs, than to eſtabliſh their own laws and government in every country which they conquered. This they accompliſhed in Britain, though one of the moſt diſtant provinces of their empire, as will appear from the following very brief detail of their civil and military arrangements in thoſe parts of this iſland which were reduced to their obedience.

Cæſar made no change in government in Britain.

The two expeditions of Julius Cæſar were ſo ſhort and tranſient, that they made no important or laſting change in the political ſtate of Britain. After his departure, all things returned into

into their former courſe, and ſo continued, with very little variation, for more than ninety years [1].

Some changes made by Claudius.

The next invaſion, under the emperor Claudius, was more ſerious, and produced more important conſequences. As ſoon as ſome of the Britiſh nations in the ſouth-eaſt corner of this iſland had ſubmitted to that emperor, the Romans began to practiſe here their uſual arts for ſecuring, improving, and enlarging their acquiſitions. With this view, they formed alliances with the Iceni, the Dobuni, the Brigantes, and perhaps with ſome other Britiſh nations [2]. From theſe alliances the Romans derived many advantages [3]. They prevented theſe powerful nations from forming a confederacy with the other Britiſh ſtates, in defence of their common liberty, and for expelling the ambitious invaders of their country, before they had obtained a firm footing: they alſo gained a plauſible pretence of obtruding their commands upon them on all occaſions, under the appearance of friendly advices; and if theſe were not obſerved, of quarrelling with them, and reducing them to ſubjection. This was, ſooner or later, the fate of all the allies of that ambitious and artful people, as well as of thoſe in Britain.

[1] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

[2] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31. See ſect. 1. of this Chap. ¶ 11, 12. 21.

[3] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32.

Policy of the Romans.

It was with the ſame intereſted views that the emperor Claudius and his ſucceſſors heaped ſuch uncommon favours on Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni; who had early and warmly embraced their cauſe againſt that of his country. This prince was not only permitted to retain his own dominions, but ſome other ſtates were put under his government; to make the world believe that the Romans were as generous to their friends as they were terrible to their enemies. "For (as "Tacitus honeſtly confeſſeth) it was a cuſtom "which had been long received and practiſed "by the Romans, to make uſe of kings as their "inſtruments in eſtabliſhing the bondage of na-"tions, and ſubjecting them to their authority[4]." The honours and favours which they beſtowed on Cogidunus, and other kings who embraced their cauſe, were dangerous and deceitful; much greater in appearance than in reality. They had no longer any authority of their own, but were wholly ſubſervient to and dependent upon the Roman emperors, whoſe lieutenants they were, and by whom they might be degraded at pleaſure. This was the caſe of Cogidunus, as appears from the inſcription quoted below[5]. This very remarkable inſcription, which was found at

[4] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 14.

[5] Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro ſalute domus divinæ, ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii, Cogidubni regis, legati auguſti in Britannia, collegium fabrorum, et qui in eo a ſacris ſunt de ſuo dedicaverunt donante arcem Pudente, Pudentini filio.

Horſ. Brit. Rom. No. 76. p. 192. 332.

Chicheſter,

Chicheſter, A. D. 1723, ſhews, among many other curious particulars, that Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, had aſſumed the name of Tiberius Claudius, in compliment to the emperor Claudius; and that he had been appointed imperial legate, in which capacity he governed that part of Britain which was ſubjected to his authority.

Planted colonies.

In order ſtill further to ſecure their conqueſts, the Romans, as ſoon as it was poſſible, planted a colony of their veteran ſoldiers and others at Camulodunum, which had been the capital of Cunobelinus; agreeably to their conſtant practice of coloniſing wherever they conquered. From this practice the Romans derived many great advantages. The ſoldiers were thereby rendered more eager to make conqueſts of which they hoped to enjoy a ſhare: their veterans were at once rewarded for their paſt ſervices, at a very ſmall expence; and engaged to perform new ſervices in defence of the ſtate, in order to preſerve their own properties: the city of Rome, and other cities of Italy, were relieved from time to time of their ſuperfluous inhabitants, who were dangerous at home, but uſeful in the colonies: the Roman language, laws, manners, and arts were introduced into the conquered countries, which were thereby improved and adorned, as well as ſecured and defended. For the capital of every Roman colony was Rome in miniature, and governed by ſimilar laws and magiſtrates, and adorned with temples, courts,

theatres, ſtatues, &c. in imitation of that great capital of the world. The ſight of this magnificence charmed the conquered nations, and reconciled them to the dominion of a people by whom their ſeveral countries were ſo much improved and beautified. This further contributed to accuſtom theſe nations to the Roman yoke, by engaging them to imitate the magnificence and elegance, the pleaſures and vices of the Romans; which rivetted their chains, and made them fond of ſervitude[6]. As the Romans enlarged their conqueſts in Britain, they planted new colonies in the moſt convenient places for preſerving and improving theſe conqueſts; as at Caerleon, at Lincoln, at York, and at Cheſter[7].

Free cities. Still further to ſecure their conqueſt, and to gain the affections of thoſe Britons who had ſubmitted to their authority, the Romans, according to their uſual policy in other countries, made London and Verulamium municipia, or free cities; beſtowing on their inhabitants all the valuable privileges of Roman citizens[8]. By this means theſe two places were, in a few years, crowded with inhabitants, who were all zealous partizans of the Roman government. Both theſe facts are demonſtrated by what happened to theſe two cities in the great revolt under Boadicia. The revolted Britons poured like a torrent upon

6 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

7 Vide Lipſium de magnitudine Romana, l. 1. c 6.

8 Aul. Gell. l. 16. c. 13. Spanheim. Orbis Roman. p. 37, 38. apud Græviùm, tom. 2.

London and Verulamium, on account of their attachment to the Romans, and deſtroyed no fewer than ſeventy thouſand of their inhabitants, which is a ſufficient proof of their populouſneſs [9].

Preſidents of the Roman province.

By theſe arts, and by others of a military nature, which ſhall be hereafter mentioned, the Romans preſerved, and by degrees enlarged that ſmall province which they formed in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain in the reign of Claudius. The government of this province was committed, according to cuſtom, to a preſident or imperial legate. The authority of theſe preſidents of provinces, under the firſt Roman emperors, was very great. They had not only the chief command of the forts, garriſons, and armies within their provinces, but they had alſo the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the direction of all civil affairs in their hands. For by the Roman laws, all the powers of all the different magiſtrates of the city of Rome were beſtowed upon every preſident of a province, within his own province: and, which was ſtill more extraordinary, he was not obliged to exerciſe theſe powers according to the laws of Rome, but according to the general principles of equity, and in that manner which ſeemed to him moſt conducive to the good of his province [10]. The preſidents of provinces had alſo a power to appoint com-

9 Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.
10 Digeſt. l. 1. tit. 18. § 10, 11, 12.

miſſioners, to hear and determine ſuch cauſes as they had not leiſure to judge of and determine in perſon [11]. Theſe extraordinary powers with which the preſidents of provinces were inveſted, were no doubt frequently abuſed, to the great oppreſſion of the provincials. This appears to have been very much the caſe in Britain before Julius Agricola was advanced to the government of this province. For that excellent perſon employed his firſt winter in redreſſing the grievances of the provincial Britons, which had been ſo great, that they had occaſioned frequent revolts, and had rendered a ſtate of peace more terrible to them than a ſtate of war [12]. The emperor Hadrian abridged this exorbitant power of the preſidents of provinces, by an edict which he promulgated, A. D. 131 [13]. This was called the perpetual edict, and contained a ſyſtem of rules by which the provincial preſidents were to regulate their conduct in their judicial capacity, in order to render the adminiſtration of juſtice uniform in all the provinces of the empire.

Imperial procurator.

The only officer who was in any degree independent of the preſident of the province was the imperial procurator, who had the chief direction in the collection and management of the imperial revenues [14]. This officer often acted as a ſpy upon the governor of the province, and informed

[11] Digeſt. l. 1. tit. 18. § 8, 9.
[12] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 19, 20.
[13] Hiſtoire des Empereurs par Tillemont, tom. 2. p. 244.
[14] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 60.

the

the emperor of any thing that he had obſerved wrong in his conduct[15]. At other times, theſe officers agreed too well in deceiving the emperor, and in plundering and oppreſſing the provincials. "Formerly (ſaid the diſcontented Britons before "their great revolt) we were ſubject only to one "king, but now we are under the dominion of "two tyrants; the imperial preſident, who in- "ſults our perſons; and the imperial procura- "tor, who plunders our goods: and the agree- "ment of theſe two tyrants is no leſs pernicious "to us than their diſcord[16]." Though this was the language of violent diſcontent, and therefore probably too ſtrong, yet we have reaſon to believe, that when a perfectly good underſtanding ſubſiſted between theſe two officers, they ſometimes agreed to enrich themſelves at the expence of the ſubjects; eſpecially in thoſe provinces that were at a great diſtance from the ſeat of empire.

Roman law.

From the promulgation of the perpetual edict of the emperor Hadrian, A. D. 131, to the final departure of the Romans out of this iſland, was about three hundred years; and during that long period the laws of Rome were firmly eſtabliſhed in all the Roman dominions in Britain. To lay before the reader only a catalogue of the titles or ſubjects of theſe laws, could give him little ſatisfaction, and would ſwell this ſection beyond all proportion, and therefore muſt not be attempted.

[15] See chap. I.

[16] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 15.

All

All theſe laws were collected into one body, digeſted into regular order, and publiſhed by the emperor Juſtinian, under the title of his digeſts or pandects. This admirable ſyſtem of laws is ſtill extant, and conſtitutes the greateſt and moſt valuable part of the corpus juris civilis, or body of civil law[17]. It is one of the nobleſt monuments of the good ſenſe of that illuſtrious people, and of their great talents for government and legiſlation. The introduction and eſtabliſhment of theſe wiſe, juſt, and equitable laws, were among the chief advantages which mankind derived from the empire of the Romans: the deſtruction of the authority, and loſs of the knowledge of theſe laws, were among the moſt fatal conſequences of the fall of that empire: and it may be added, that the happy diſcovery of a copy of the pandects of Juſtinian at Amalphi, A. D. 1137, by which the knowledge of theſe laws was recovered, was one of the great means of raiſing the European nations from that deplorable barbariſm into which they had long been plunged[18].

Britain divided into provinces.

The Roman territories in Britain, for more than one hundred and fifty years, made only one province; but about the beginning of the third century, they were divided into two provinces, by the emperor Severus[19]. At length, when the

17 Vide Corpus Juris civilis.

18 See Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. i. p. 65, &c. p. 316, &c.

19 Herodian, l. 3. c. 24.

authority

authority of the Romans extended over all that part of this iſland which lies to the ſouth of the wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, that whole country was divided into five provinces; of whoſe names, ſituations, limits, and inhabitants, it may be proper to give the following brief account.

Flavia Cæſarienſis.

1. Beginning at the ſouth end of the iſland, the firſt province we meet with in this moſt perfect ſtate of the Roman government in Britain, was called Flavia Cæſarienſis. This province extended over the whole breadth of the iſland where it is broadeſt, from the Land's-end in Cornwall, to the South-Foreland in Kent; and was bounded on the ſouth by the Engliſh Channel, on the north by the Briſtol Channel, the Severn, and the Thames. It comprehended the countries of the Danmonii, Durotriges, Belgæ, Attrebatii, Regni, and Cantii; which are now Cornwal, Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, Surrey, Suſſex, and Kent[20]. Though this province, on account of its ſituation, is named firſt, it was not firſt eſtabliſhed, but the countries comprehended in it made a part of the one Roman province in Britain, from the time when they were ſubdued to the reign of the emperor Severus. When that emperor divided the Roman territories in Britain into two provinces, theſe countries made a part of the ſouthern one, and ſo continued until Conſtantine the Great formed them into a diſtinct

[20] See the Map of Britain, according to the Notitia.

province,

province, which was called Flavia Cæſarienſis, from Flavius, one of the names of that emperor [21].

Britannia Prima.

2. Britannia Prima was probably ſo named becauſe it contained ſome of the countries which firſt ſubmitted to the Romans in this iſland. This province was bounded on the ſouth by the Thames, on the eaſt by the Britiſh Ocean, on the north by the Humber, and on the weſt by the Severn; and comprehended the countries of the Dobuni, Cattivellauni, Trinobantes, Iceni, and Coritani; which are now Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Hertfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire [22].

Britannia Secunda.

3. Britannia Secunda perhaps received that name when Severus divided the Roman dominions in Britain into two provinces, of which this was the ſecond. It was bounded on the ſouth by the Briſtol Channel and the Severn, on the weſt by St. George's Channel, on the north by the Iriſh Sea, and on the eaſt by Britannia Prima [23]. This province contained the countries of the Cornavii, Silures, Demetæ, and Orduices; which are now Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, Cheſhire, Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire, Caermarthenſhire, Pem-

[21] Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 480.

[22] See the Map of Britain according to the Notitia.

[23] See the Map.

brokeſhire,

brokeſhire, Cardiganſhire, Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Denbighſhire, and Flintſhire.

4. The fourth province was called Maxima Cæſarienſis; but neither the reaſon of this name, nor the time when this province was erected, are certainly known. It was bounded on the ſouth by the Humber, on the eaſt by the German Ocean, on the weſt by the Iriſh Sea, and on the north by the wall of Severus; and contained the countries of the Pariſi and Brigantes; which are now the counties of York, Durham, Lancaſter, Cumberland, and Northumberland [24]. Maxima Cæſarienſis.

5. Valentia was the fifth and moſt northerly province of the Romans in Britain. It was erected, A. D. 369, by the victorious general Theodoſius, and called Valentia in honour of the emperor Valens. This province contained all that extenſive tract of country which lay between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius; and was inhabited by ſeveral Britiſh nations, which, beſides their particular names, were called by the general name of Maeatæ. Valentia.

The Roman emperors, from time to time, created new officers to aſſiſt them in the management of their prodigious empire; and made frequent changes in the diſtribution of the civil power. It would be very improper to enter upon a minute detail of all theſe changes; but that one which was made by Conſtantine the Great was ſo Vicar of Britain.

[24] Ammian. Marcellin. l. 28. c. 3. See the Map.

conſider-

conſiderable in itſelf, and ſo much affected the political ſtate of Britain, that it merits a place in this ſection. That renowned emperor having obtained the dominion of the whole Roman empire, by a ſeries of glorious victories over all his rivals, divided it into the four prefectures of the Eaſt, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaul; over each of which he eſtabliſhed a prefect, who had the chief authority in the civil government of his own prefecture. Each of theſe prefectures were ſubdivided into a certain number of dioceſes, according to its extent and other circumſtances; and each of theſe dioceſes was governed under the prefect, by an officer who was called the vicar of that dioceſe[26]. The prefecture of Gaul comprehended the three dioceſes of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; which laſt was governed under the prefect of Gaul, by an officer called the vicar of Britain, whoſe authority extended over all the provinces in this iſland. The vicar of Britain reſided chiefly at London, and lived in great pomp. His court was compoſed of the following officers for tranſacting the buſineſs of his government; a principal officer of the agents, a principal ſecretary, two chief auditors of accounts, a maſter of the priſons, a notary, a ſecretary for diſpatches, and aſſiſtant, under-aſſiſtants, clerks for appeals, ſerjeants, and inferior officers[27]. Appeals might be made to him from the governors of the provinces, and from him to

[26] Zoſim. l. 2. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. t. 8. p. 450.
[27] Notitia Imperii, c. 49.

the

the prefect of Gaul. The title of the vicar of Britain was Spectabilis (his excellence), and the enſigns of his office were a book of inſtructions in a green cover, and five caſtles on the triangular form of the iſland, repreſenting the five provinces under his juriſdiction[28]. Each of the five provinces in Britain had a particular governor, who reſided within the province, and had a court compoſed of a competent number of officers for diſpatching the ſeveral branches of buſineſs. The governors of the two moſt northerly provinces, Valentia and Maxima Cæſarienſis, which were moſt expoſed to danger, were of conſular dignity; but thoſe of the other three were only ſtyled preſidents. By the vicar of Britain and theſe five governors of provinces, with their reſpective officers, all civil affairs were regulated, juſtice was adminiſtered, and the taxes and public revenues of all kinds were collected[29].

Though ambition was long the reigning paſſion of the Romans, they were far from being inattentive to their intereſts, but ſtudied how to gain wealth, as well as glory, by their conqueſts. When nations firſt ſubmitted to their authority, they often obliged them to pay a certain ſtipulated ſum of money, or quantity of corn, annually, by way of tribute; leaving them for ſome time in Roman taxes.

[28] See the Map, Appendix.

[29] Notitia Imperii, c. 49. Heineccius Antiq. Rom. tom. 4. p. 258.

the

the poſſeſſion of their other privileges; and theſe nations were called tributaries [30]. Thus Julius Cæſar impoſed a certain annual tribute on the Britiſh ſtates which made their ſubmiſſions to him, though he hath not mentioned either the nature or quantity of that tribute [31]. But the Romans did not commonly continue long to treat thoſe nations which had ſubmitted to them with this indulgence, but on one pretence or other they ſoon reduced them into provinces, and ſubjected them to a great variety of taxations, which were levied with much ſeverity. To this ſtate were the Britiſh nations reduced by the emperor Claudius and his ſucceſſors, which makes it neceſſary to give a very brief account of ſome of the chief taxes which the Romans impoſed upon their provinces, and particularly on this iſland.

Land-tax. One of the chief taxes which the Romans impoſed on their provincial ſubjects, was a certain proportion of the produce of all their arable lands, which may not improperly be called a land-tax. This proportion varied at different times, and in different places, from the fifth part to the twentieth, though the moſt common proportion was the tenth [32]. This tax was impoſed upon the people of Britain, with this additional hardſhip, that the farmers were obliged

[30] Heineccius Antiq. Rom. l. 1. Append. 114.

[31] Cæſ. de Bel. Gal.

[32] Lipſius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1. Heineccius Antiq. Rom. l. 1. Appendix, 115.

by

by the publicans to carry their tithe-corn to a great diſtance, or to pay them ſome bribe, to be excuſed from that trouble. This great abuſe was rectified by Agricola, though the tax itſelf was ſtill exacted, and even augmented [33]. When the Romans had occaſion for corn to ſupply the city of Rome or their armies, this tax was levied in kind; but when they had not, it was paid in money according to a certain fixed rate [34]. They exacted a ſtill higher proportion, commonly a fifth part of the produce of orchards, perhaps becauſe leſs labour was required in their cultivation [35]. The produce of this land-tax became ſo great in Britain, by the improvements that were made in agriculture, that it not only ſupplied all the Roman troops in this iſland with corn, but afforded a conſiderable ſurplus for exportation [36].

Tax called Scriptura.

The Romans alſo impoſed a tax, in all the provinces of their empire, on paſture-grounds, or rather on the cattle that grazed in them. This tax was called Scriptura (the writing), becauſe the collectors of it viſited all the paſtures, and took an exact liſt of all the cattle of different kinds, in writing, and demanded a certain ſum for each beaſt, according to an eſtabliſhed rate [37].

33 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 19. 34 Spartian. in Sever. c. 8.
35 Appian. apud Lipſ. de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1.
36 Ammian. Marcellin. l. 18. c. 2.
37 Lipſ. de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1. Heinec. Ant. Rom. l. 1. Append. 116.

This tax proved very oppreſſive to the Britons when it was firſt impoſed by the emperor Claudius, and for ſome time after. For as they abounded in cattle, it amounted to a great ſum; and being deſtitute of money to pay the tax, they were obliged either to ſell ſome of their cattle at a diſadvantage, or to borrow money from the wealthy Romans at an exorbitant intereſt. The famous Seneca alone is ſaid to have lent the diſtreſſed Britons, on this occaſion, the prodigious ſum of three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; and that his demanding it with rigour, at a time when they were not able to pay, puſhed them on, among other things, to the great revolt under Boadicia [38]. This tax was ſometimes taken in kind, when they needed cattle for their armies [39]. Nor were meadows exempted from taxation; for a certain proportion of their produce (moſt probably the tenth) was exacted, in order to provide forage for the cavalry [40].

Tax on mines.

The Romans, not contented with theſe impoſitions on lands of different kinds, extracted taxes from the very bowels of the earth, and obliged the proprietors of mines of all kinds of metal to pay a certain proportion of their profits to the ſtate. Gold mines were commonly ſeized by the emperors, wrought at their expence and for their

[38] Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

[39] Pet. Burmannus de Vectigal. Pop. Rom. p. 49.

[40] Id. ibid. p. 48.

profit; but the proprietors of mines of ſilver, copper, iron, lead, &c. were permitted to work them for their own benefit, upon paying the tax which was impoſed upon them; which ſeems to have been the tenth part of what they produced [41]. The revenue ariſing from the mines in ſome provinces was prodigious. The ſilver mines near New Carthage in Spain are ſaid to have employed forty thouſand men, and to have yielded a revenue of twenty-five thouſand drachmæ, or 600l. of our money a day, to the Romans [42]. This induſtrious people had not been long in Britain before they diſcovered and wrought mines of gold, ſilver, and other metals to ſo much advantage, that they yielded them an ample reward for their toils and victories, though we know not the particular ſum [43].

Roman civil and military liſts.

The expences of the Roman empire were divided into two claſſes, which may not improperly be called their civil and military liſts; to each of which certain taxes were appropriated [44]. One of the chief branches of revenue that was allotted to the ſupport of the military eſtabliſhment, was the twentieth part of all eſtates and le-

41 Pet. Burmannus de Vectigal. Pop. Rom. p. 80.—If this was the tenth part of the produce of theſe mines, as it probably was, they yielded 6000l. of our money a day, which was three ſhillings a day for every perſon employed in working them. The drachma is computed at eight in the ounce of ſilver, which is the loweſt computation.

42 Strabo. l. 3. p. 147, 148. 43 Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

44 Sueton. in Auguſtum, c. 99.

gacies that were left by will, to ſuch perſons as were without a certain degree of conſanguinity, or would not have been intitled to them by right of blood without that will. This tax was collected in Britain, and in all the other provinces of the empire, and yielded a very great revenue. It was generally paid with pleaſure; as thoſe who had gotten eſtates and legacies to which they had no natural right, were in ſuch good-humour, that they did not grudge to pay a moderate proportion of them to the ſtate[45]. Another branch of revenue which was appropriated to the military liſt, was the twenty-fifth part of the price of all the ſlaves that were ſold in all the provinces of the Roman empire; and conſidering the great number of theſe ſlaves, and the high prices at which ſome of them were ſold, this tax muſt have produced a very great ſum[46]. To this liſt alſo was allotted the money which aroſe from the tax upon all kinds of goods that were ſold by auction, or in the public markets, above a certain value. This tax was ſometimes the two hundredth, ſometimes the one hundredth part, and ſometimes a greater proportion of the price[47].

Poll-tax. There is ſufficient evidence that the Roman emperors, ſometimes at leaſt, impoſed a capitation, or poll-tax, on all their provincial ſubjects; though the quantity and proportion of

[45] Petrus Burmannus de Vectigal. Pop. Rom. c. 11.

[46] Lipſius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 1. c. 4.

[47] Burman. p. 68. Lipſ. l. 1. c. 4. Clarke on Coins, p. 188. Note.

this tax, the manner in which it was levied, and ſome other circumſtances of it, are not very well known[48]. It appears that this tax, with another upon the bodies of the dead before they were allowed to be buried, were levied in Britain, and occaſioned great diſcontent. The famous Boadicia complained bitterly of theſe two taxes, in her harangue to the Britiſh army, before the battle with the Romans under Suetonius. "Have "we not been deprived of our moſt valuable "poſſeſſions, and do we not pay many heavy "taxes for what remains? Beſides all the various "impoſitions on our lands and goods, are not "our bodies taxed, and do we not pay for the "very heads on our ſhoulders? But why do I "dwell on their impoſitions upon the living, "when even the dead are not exempted from "their exactions? Do you not all know how "much we are obliged to pay for the bodies of "our departed friends? Thoſe who are ſubject "to other nations are ſubject only for life, but "ſuch is the exquiſite tyranny and inſatiable "avarice of the Romans, that they extort taxes "even from the dead[49]."

The Romans impoſed a great variety of taxes on particular things, as on houſes, pillars, hearths, on ſeveral kinds of animals, on urine, dung, &c. and (if we can believe ſome authors) even on the air itſelf, in all the provinces of

Various taxes.

[48] Luke, chap. ii. v. 1, 2, 3. Lipſius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 1. c. 3. [49] Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Neron.

their empire[50]. Artiſts of all kinds paid a certain tax for the liberty of exerciſing their ſeveral arts; thoſe who adminiſtered to luxury, and made the greateſt profits, paying the greateſt ſums: nor did the mighty monarchs of Rome diſdain to claim a ſhare in the diſhonourable gains of female proſtitution[51]. In this enumeration of taxes, no notice hath been taken of the portoria of the Romans, which correſponded to our cuſtoms on all goods exported and imported, though they conſtituted one of the chief branches of their revenues in ſome provinces, and were not inconſiderable in Britain, becauſe they will fall more naturally under our conſideration in the hiſtory of commerce[52].

Caution. It is not to be imagined, that all theſe taxes were impoſed on the provincial Britons immediately after they ſubmitted to the Roman government. It was the wiſe policy of the Romans to treat their new ſubjects with great lenity, and to accuſtom them to the yoke by degrees; impoſing one tax after another, as their improvements in arts and opulence enabled them to pay them. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that all theſe taxes were invariably and conſtantly exacted, even after they had been impoſed. For it appears from the cleareſt evidence, that there were great changes made by the Romans, both in the nature and meaſure of their taxes, accord-

50 Petrus Burmannus de Vectigal. Pop. Rom. c. 12.

51 Id. ibid.

52 See Chap. VI.

ing

ing to the circumſtances of the ſtate, and the diſpoſitions of the emperors. Alexander Severus in particular, who filled the imperial throne from A. D. 223 to A. D. 236, prompted by the goodneſs of his heart, made a very great and imprudent reduction of the provincial taxes, which proved his ruin[53]. But it is improper to enter into any further detail of theſe changes and variations.

Amount of the Roman revenues in Britain.

Though it is impoſſible to diſcover the exact value of the Roman revenues in Britain, we have reaſon to believe, that theſe revenues were very conſiderable. They were ſufficient, not only to defray all the expences of the civil government, and to ſupport a very large military eſtabliſhment, but alſo to afford valuable remittances to the imperial treaſury. For the Romans were too wiſe a people to preſerve an unprofitable conqueſt for ſo long a time, and with ſo much anxiety and labour. The Britiſh revenues were even ſo great, that they encouraged ſeveral generals to aſſume the imperial purple, and enabled them to ſupport that high dignity without any other income[54]. If the calculations of Lipſius, concerning the Roman revenues of Gaul, be juſt, thoſe of Britain could not be leſs than two millions ſterling annually[55]. This is one proof, among many others, that this iſland did not recover the damage which it ſuſtained, by the de-

[53] Lampridius in vita Alexandri, c. 39. p. 965.
[54] See Chap. I. [55] Lipſius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2, c. 3.

parture of the Romans, and the devaſtations which ſucceeded that event, for more than a thouſand years.

Military government.

Such was the regular plan of the civil government of the Romans in Britain: it is now time to take a ſhort view of their military arrangements in this iſland, which were no leſs prudent and regular.

Diſarmed the conquered Britons.

One of the firſt ſteps the Romans took, after they had ſubdued ſome of the Britiſh nations, was to diſarm them; in order to put it out of their power to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their freedom. But as there is nothing a brave and martial people reſign with ſo much reluctance as their arms, the Britons ſtruggled hard to retain them, and oppoſed this meaſure with great vigour, in frequent revolts and inſurrections[55]. At length however the Romans prevailed, and entirely diſarmed all the provincial Britons, who ſoon after loſt all their martial ſpirit, and became an abject and daſtardly people, without either inclination or ability to reſiſt the will of their lordly maſters.

Impreſſed the Britiſh youth.

Still further to ſecure their conqueſts in this iſland, and to make theſe conqueſts the means of eſtabliſhing their power in other places, the Romans preſſed into their ſervice great numbers of the braveſt and moſt robuſt of the Britiſh youth, trained them to the uſe of arms, and ſent them

55 Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31.

into

into different and diſtant provinces of their empire [56].

As the Romans advanced in their conqueſts in Britain, they built chains of forts in the moſt proper ſituations, with a view of keeping thoſe nations who had ſubmitted in ſubjection, and of repelling the incurſions of thoſe who were ſtill unconquered [57]. Built forts.

But the chief engine employed by the Romans, both in making and ſecuring their conqueſts here, as well as in other countries, was their ſtanding army, which was conſtituted and regulated in the wiſeſt manner for anſwering both theſe purpoſes. Though this is certainly not the proper place to give a minute delineation of the conſtitution of a Roman army, it may not be improper to take notice, that the troops which were ſtationed in this iſland, were collected from many diſtinct and remote provinces of the empire; and differed from each other, and from the Britons, in their manners, cuſtoms, and languages [58]. By this contrivance they were prevented from forming conſpiracies among themſelves, or with the native Britons, in order to caſt off the Roman yoke. After the provincial Britons were ſo entirely ſubdued and diſarmed, that no further inſurrections were to be apprehended from them, the Roman troops Standing army.

[56] Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13. to 31.

[57] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31. Vita Agric. c. 23.

[58] Notitia Imperii, § 52. 63.

were,

were, for the moſt part, withdrawn from the internal parts of the provinces, and ſtationed on the frontiers for their protection.

Change in the military government.

About the ſame time that the new arrangements, which have been above deſcribed, were made in the civil government of the empire, a ſimilar change was made in the government of its military forces. Conſtantine the Great, thinking the pretorian prefects, who had the chief direction both of civil and military affairs, were too powerful, he diveſted them of their military authority, and appointed in their room two new officers, called Magiſtri militum (maſters of the ſoldiers); one of which had the chief command of the cavalry, and the other of the infantry [59]. Neither of theſe generals had their ordinary reſidence in Britain, which was too remote from the center of the empire; but the Roman troops in this iſland were commanded under them, by the three following officers: 1. Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, the count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain. 2. Comes Britanniarum, the count of Britain. 3. Dux Britanniarum, the duke of Britain [60]. Of theſe three officers, and the forces under their command, the following ſhort account will be ſufficient.

Count of the Saxon ſhore.

In the third century, the ſouth and eaſt coaſts of Britain began to be much infeſted by Saxon pirates, and from thence got the name of Littus Saxonicum, the Saxon ſhore. To protect the

[59] Zoſim. l. 2. Notit. Imper. § 83. [60] Ibid. § 52, 53. 63.

country

country from the depredations of theſe pirates, the Romans not only kept a fleet on theſe coaſts, but alſo built a chain of forts in the moſt convenient places, into which they put garriſons: and the officer who commanded in chief all theſe forts and garriſons, was called Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, the count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain. The number of theſe forts was nine; and they were ſituated at the following places; beginning at the moſt northerly, and advancing ſouthwards. 1. Branodunum, Brancaſter: 2. Garionnonum, Burghcaſtle, near Yarmouth; both on the Norfolk coaſt: 3. Othona, Ithancheſter, not far from Malden, in Eſſex; now overflowed by the ſea: 4. Regulbium, Reculver: 5. Rutupæ, Richborough: 6. Dubris, Dover: 7. Lemanæ, Lime; theſe four laſt on the coaſt of Kent: 8. Anderida, Haſtings, or Eaſt-Bourn, in Suſſex: and 9. Portus Adurnus, Portſmouth, in Hampſhire[61]. Theſe nine forts were garriſoned by about 2200 foot, and 200 horſe. The enſigns of the count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain were, a book of inſtructions, and the figures of nine caſtles, repreſenting the nine forts under his command. The court of this count was compoſed of the following officers: A principal officer from the court of the maſter of the foot: two auditors from the above-mentioned court: a maſter of the priſons, from the ſame court: a ſecretary: an aſſiſtant: an

[61] Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 472. See Appendix.

under-

under-aſſiſtant: a regiſter: clerks of appeals: ſerjeants, and other under officers [62].

Counts of Britain.

In the courts of the Roman emperors, from Auguſtus downwards, there were certain counſellors who attended the emperor, both at home and abroad, to aſſiſt him with their advice on all occaſions. Theſe counſellors were ſtiled Comites Auguſtales, or Comites Auguſti, companions of the emperor, from their conſtant attendance on his perſon. They were divided into three orders or degrees, and thoſe of each order had certain privileges and appointments, while they attended the imperial court. As theſe comites or companions had frequent acceſs to the emperors, they often ſtood high in their favour, and obtained from them the government of provinces, towns, forts, and caſtles, and other offices of profit and honour. When theſe comites left the imperial court, to take upon them the government of a province, town, or caſtle, or the exerciſe of any office, they were no longer called Comites Auguſtales, companions of the emperor, but Comites of ſuch a province, town, caſtle, or office [63]. Such were the Comites littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, the counts of the Saxon ſhore in Britain: and ſuch alſo were the Comites Britanniarum, or counts of Britain. Theſe laſt counts commanded

[62] Notitia, § 52. See Appendix.

[63] Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 241, &c. Du Cange Gloſſ. v. Comites.

the

the Roman forces in the interior parts of Britain, diſtributed into the towns, forts, and caſtles in theſe parts. The forces under the counts of Britain are ſuppoſed to have been originally about 3000 foot and 600 horſe; but after the internal tranquillity of the country was fully ſecured, theſe forces ſeem to have been removed out of the iſland, or to have been ſtationed on the frontiers; for in the fifty-third ſection of the Notitia Imperii, where the court of this count is deſcribed, no notice is taken of any forces under his command [64].

Duke of Britain.

The word Dux (which originally ſignified the commander or leader of an army in general) under the lower empire became the title of a particular military officer, who commanded the Roman forces in a certain diſtrict, moſt commonly on the frontiers [65]. Such was the Dux Britanniarum, or duke of Britain, who commanded on the northern frontiers, over thirty-ſeven fortified places, and the troops ſtationed in them. Twenty-three of theſe forts under the government of the duke of Britain, were ſituated on the line of Severus's wall; and the other fourteen at no great diſtance from it [66]. In theſe thirty-ſeven forts or ſtations, about 14,000 foot and 900 horſe were placed in garriſons [67]. The

64 Notitia Imperii, § 40. 53. Brady Hiſt. v. 1. p. 41.
65 Zoſim. l. 2. Du Cange Gloſſ. v. Dux.
66 Notitia Imperii, § 63. Horſley Brit. Rom. p. 477.
67 Brady Hiſt. v. 1. p. 47.

court

court of the duke of Britain was exactly ſimilar to that of the count of the Saxon ſhore above deſcribed.

Number of the Roman troops.

From this ſhort account of the military eſtabliſhment of the Romans in Britain, it appears that the ordinary ſtanding army in this iſland conſiſted of about 19,200 foot, and 1700 horſe. It is not indeed to be imagined that the ſeveral corps of which it was compoſed were always complete, eſpecially when it is conſidered that many of them received their recruits from very diſtant countries. It is rather probable, that the effective men in the ordinary ſtanding army here, were ſeveral thouſands ſhort of the above number; eſpecially after the troops under the command of the count of Britain were withdrawn. This army, beſides performing the three important ſervices of guarding the coaſts againſt the Saxon pirates, ſecuring the internal tranquillity of the country, and protecting the northern frontiers from the incurſions of the Scots and Picts, executed many noble works of utility and ornament.

From this very brief and imperfect delineation of the civil and military government of the Romans in this iſland, it will appear that they were not altogether unworthy of the high compliment which is paid them on this ſubject by the moſt illuſtrious of their own poets:

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra:
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:

Orabunt

Orabunt cauſſas melius, cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, et ſurgentia ſidera dicent.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane: memento,
(Hæ tibi erunt artes) paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis, et debellare ſuperbos.

Æneid. lib. vi. v. 849.

Effect of the departure of the Romans.

The final departure of the Romans out of Britain ſeems to have been attended with an almoſt total diſſolution of all order, law, and government. The wretched Britons, inſtead of recovering their liberty by that event, beheld themſelves plunged into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, more deplorable than their former ſervitude. The families of the ancient Britiſh princes had been either extinguiſhed or blended with the common people; ſo that few or none could produce any title to ſeize the reins of government. The Romans had ſo entirely excluded the native Britons from all concerns in the adminiſtration of civil and military affairs, that few of them had any ſkill or capacity in the conduct of ſuch affairs. Nothing can be more ſhocking than the picture which is drawn by our moſt ancient hiſtorian Gildas, of the political condition of the provincial Britons, after the departure of thoſe who had been ſo long their governors and guardians. It repreſents them as a lawleſs, diſorderly, abandoned rabble; ſlaughtered by the Scots and Picts, almoſt without reſiſtance; and ſlaughtering one another, as ſoon as theſe common enemies retired [68].

[68] Gildæ Hiſt. c. 15, 16.

In

British government.

In a little time, the miſeries of this ſtate of anarchy became ſo intolerable, that the Britons, in order to preſerve themſelves from total deſtruction, found it neceſſary to reſtore monarchical government, in imitation of that under which they had formerly lived in great ſecurity. But they ſeem to have been very unfortunate in the choice of their firſt monarchs. "They ſet "up kings (ſays Gildas) but not in God, and "theſe kings were, in a little time, cut off by "thoſe who had advanced them, and others "elected in their room, ſtill more cruel and "unworthy[69]." Hiſtory hath not preſerved ſo much as the names of theſe unfortunate momentary monarchs. We are only told, that when a report prevailed that the Scots and Picts were meditating a more formidable invaſion than any of the former ones, with a deſign to conquer the whole country, and ſettle in it, a general convention was called of all who poſſeſſed any authority among the Britons. In this aſſembly Vortigern (who is called by Gildas duke of the Britons, probably in imitation of the Roman officer who bore that title) had the chief ſway. By his influence the Saxons were invited into Britain, who brought about another revolution in the conſtitution, government, and laws of the greateſt part of this iſland[70]; which will be the ſubject of the third chapter of the ſecond book of this work.

[69] Gildæ Hiſt. c. 19.

[70] Id. ibid. c. 22, 23.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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